DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 134 436 SE 021 724

AUTHOR	Lynton, Rolf P.
TITLE	Building Population Programs in Universities: A Brief Guide for Policy Makers.
INSTITUTION	North Carolina Univ., Chapel Hill. Carolina Population Center.
SPONS AGENCY	Agency for International Development (Dept. of State), Washington, D.C.
PUB DATE	74
GRANT	AID-CSD-3325
NOTE	192p.; Not available in hard copy due to light type throughout document
EDRS PRICE	MF-$0.83 Plus Postage. HC Not Available from EDRS.
DESCRIPTORS	Graduate Study; *Higher Education; Instruction; *Interdisciplinary Approach; International Education; *Population Education; *Program Development; Research; Undergraduate Study; *Universities

ABSTRACT

This guide is based on a study of how to improve population programs in universities. Staff from 25 universities contributed questions and answers that serve as much of the content of the guide. The guide is intended to sharpen the map of the world of population program building in universities. The guide identifies 23 features of programs that are classified as most important considerations. These include program balance, program development, program emphasis, program image, place in the university, program leadership, funds, and program evaluation and control. Discussions of each are elaborated. (RH)

****
* Documents acquired by ERIC include many informal unpublished *
* materials not available from other sources. ERIC makes every effort *
* to obtain the best copy available. Nevertheless, items of marginal *
* reproducibility are often encountered and this affects the quality *
* of the microfiche and hardcopy reproductions ERIC makes available *
* via the ERIC Document Reproduction Service (EDRS). EDRS is not *
* responsible for the quality of the original document. Reproductions *
* supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made from the original. *
****

ED134436

Rolf P. Lynton

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH,
EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF
EDUCATION

THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY

BUILDING POPULATION PROGRAMS in UNIVERSITIES

A Brief Guide for Policy Makers

SE 021 724

Rolf P. Lynton

BUILDING POPULATION PROGRAMS in UNIVERSITIES

A Brief Guide for Policy Makers

Our ingenuity is obviously going to be severely taxed, but this is preferable to taxing more severely the income of the public which supports us.

President, University of Toronto, 1972

There are no heroes or villains in most crises, just learners and non-learners.

President, University of Cincinnati, 1972

Carolina Population Center
University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill 1974

The Carolina Population Center was created in 1966 to facilitate research, education, and service devoted to the understanding of population phenomena and the solution of population-related problems. It serves public and private agencies, businesses, and the public directly, in North Carolina and the South, and provides technical assistance on population matters to more than 20 nations. It is a part of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

Rolf Lynton came to the then quite new Carolina Population Center from 11 years in development consulting in Southeast Asia and parts of Africa. At UNC he was Associate Professor of Mental Health in the School of Public Health and Project Director at CPC. Dr. Lynton is now Dean of the new School of Public Health at the University of South Carolina, and continues some work with two international institution building projects at UNC. He is also visiting professor in the Doctoral Program in Policy Sciences at the State University of New York at Buffalo.

Publication of this monograph has been supported by the Office of Population, Bureau of Population and Humanitarian Assistance, Agency for International Development, under grant AID/csd-3325.

Published by the Carolina Population Center, 1974.

Contents

Preface v

University Population Program ix

Introduction--Purpose of Guide: Mapping--and What the Current Map Shows: A Summary xi

Five Sets of Policy Issues 2

1. What Kind of Program: Missions--Goals--Activities and the Public Image 12

2. The Place of the Population Program in the University 44

3. Program Resources: Men, Money, and a Sense of Humor 74

4. Keeping Programs on Course: Monitoring and Evaluation 100

5. Learning from Other Programs: Interuniversity Networks for Collaboration 134

Appendixes 141

A. Five Basic Types of Population Programs 143

B. Linkage Issues in Programs of Different Types 148

C. Foreign Funds and Their Use: Faculty Development, Consultation, Project Support, and Facilities 155

D. International Funding Agencies 160

E. Field-Oriented Population Programs Based in One Discipline: Two Examples 164

F. An Interdisciplinary Population Program (U.S.A.: Account Based on Contemporary Documents) 168

G. International Networks of University Population Programs 172

Bibliography 175

Library of Congress
Cataloging in Publication Data

Lynton, Rolf P
Building population programs in universities.

Bibliography
1. Population--Study and teaching (Higher)
2. Universities and colleges--Administration. 3. Universities and colleges--Curricula. I. Carolina Population Center. II. Title.
HB850.L96 301.32'07'11 74-22233
ISBN 0-89055-112-X

CPC Technical Information Service Library
Cataloging in Publication Data

Building population programs in universities; a brief guide
for policy makers, by Rolf P. Lynton.

1. Population research and training--Programs.
2. Universities. 3. University population centers. 4. Program planning and evaluation. 5. Fiscal activities. 6. Organizational structure and relationships. 7. Population policy. 8. Leaders.
9. Manual--Type of document. I. Lynton, Rolf P.
HF5500.L95

Preface

The Carolina Population Center, ever since its start in 1966, and with increasing urgency since its rapid expansion in the late '60s, has received requests from other universities for assistance with developing university population programs (UPPs) of their own. International funds for population activities were doubling every year then and funding prospects looked excellent. In fact, so ominous did the population explosion suddenly loom that the times favored technical assistance "on the quick," the kind of assistance that all too easily can make a set of items like "seed money" for research projects, overseas training for faculty, expert assistance, library, equipment, and so on, look like a program. Some assistance on this basis did take place, probably too much. After all, we knew better from earlier experiences in other fields and from the Center's own patently unresolved issues: this simple approach took for granted that the essential institutional context for the proposed activities already existed, and we knew this to be a mistaken assumption. A university population program is not just assorted activities under a common title but, instead, has to have integrity as a whole, strengthened by combining carefully chosen activities, making them cohesive, and integrating them well into the university and into the conditions and developments in the country.

But early sallies into helping two other universities develop this broader framework also left us dissatisfied. We just did not know enough ourselves about population program development to be maximally helpful, so how could we help others competently and surely? We magnified the task by focusing on those UPPs which determined to deal with the population problem "in its full reality"--the phrase is that of the rector of a collaborating university in Latin America. These programs were field-oriented and interdisciplinary, and thus a great change from the disciplinary knowledge-oriented tradition of most universities, including the standard-setting universities in developed countries.

To illustrate the difficulties involved in developing university population programs of this complex type, there follows the abbreviated list of obstacles and proposals for program improvement reported from the first Regional Seminar of Program Directors in West Africa in 1972 (Addo and David 1973):

OBSTACLES

1. Failure to set out clearly the *objectives and purposes* of programmes and their relevance both to the universities and the national community.

2. Lack of an effective *structure* for implementing the programme.

3. *Staffing* problems: not many trained persons are available at all, or if available, can devote adequate time to the projects because of other demands on their time. Demographic personnel, being in great demand elsewhere, tend to shift from programme to programme in response to better opportunities.

4. *Administrative support*: programmes can be ruined through poor processing of finances, indifferent clerical support, and poor liaison with cooperating units.

PROPOSALS FOR IMPROVING PROGRAMME DEVELOPMENT

Having listed the main obstacles to programme development, certain proposals were put forward to insure a more efficient implementation of programmes:

1. The objectives, purpose, and relevance of programmes and projects should be set out clearly, and care should be taken to insure that all participating and interested bodies fully understand these.

2. Care should be taken to devise an appropriate structure for the programme. Two bodies are usually needed. A policy-making body would consist of heads of relevant and interested departments or units or their representatives. The second body should be technical, consisting of the actual personnel engaged in the project. The relationship between the two bodies should be clearly stated and the issue of leadership and responsibility for project implementation should be defined.

3. Staff recruitment and staff training are of paramount importance. It might be necessary to reorient or up-date the skills of some of the professional staff before they start work on a project. In the long run, it saves time and money and avoids much frustration.

4. For long-term programmes, the best solution is to incorporate staff training programmes into the overall programme to insure that trained staff are available to continue with the individual projects.

5. The minimum commitment, especially of part-time research personnel, on projects must be spelt out and guaranteed. (Some heads of departments are notorious for steadily increasing the work-load of staff members who have been assigned on a part-time basis to other projects!)

6. For key roles in projects, more than one person should be assigned. This will prevent the collapse of a project because of a sudden departure of a project director or personnel for one reason or the other.

7. Adequate incentives should be built into programmes or held out to participating personnel, such as promotion prospects, better conditions, service opportunities, honoraria, publicity.

8. Care must be taken to insure that the supporting staff and supporting services are adequate, and forthcoming. (Projects have been known to be held up for lack of a competent typist or effective accounting procedures!)

9. Arrangements for funding programmes, while requiring checks against misuse of funds, should also be reasonably simple and flexible. Excessive red-tapism can be very frustrating for research fellows anxious to get on with their work.

10. A list of project priorities for programmes should be prepared to help determine allocation of scarce manpower and resources.

11. A timetable of operations should be drawn for all programmes and projects to serve as a guide to project directors and a basis for evaluating the progress of programmes. These should be revised from time to time.

12. For programmes that have a wide public impact or touch on sensitive public issues, it is advisable to have a board or council. Membership should include representation from the university institutions, government agencies, and relevant private organizations. Such a board or council is useful for giving the green light to programmes and protecting the programme itself from public misunderstanding.

Yes, but how to do all these things?

By 1971 population program building in universities had become a distinct category for international funding, with the University Services Agreements of the U.S. Agency for International Development the most notable newcomer.[1] That year the Carolina Population Center requested AID funds to study the "state of the art" of population program development in collaboration with key universities across the world actually practicing it, and if possible to create a permanent association for sharing experiences and helping each other--and so also improve that art for common benefit. AID funded the work in Africa, Asia, and Latin America and two close colleagues, Dr. John B. Graham, director of the Genetics Program of the School of Medicine, and Dr. Arnold Nash, former chairman of the Department of Religion, secured funds separately (from the Rockefeller Foundation) for a study of population programs in North American and European universities.

This *Guide* is one product of that project (AID # csd-3325) and itself an outcome of the interuniversity association which the project set out to foster. The data on which the *Guide* is based, and those for the workbook for program directors, which is to follow, come from questions and answers contributed by 25 universities; so do many of the quotations at the heads of chapters and in boxes throughout the *Guide*. Successive drafts of the *Guide* were then considered by the heads of nine universities (the International Study Group) who guide the project. The group and the participating universities are listed on pp. ix and x, as are the group of colleagues at UNC who codirected the project.

---

[1] In 1972 the U.N. organized an international conference on institution development for population in France (Liege, 1972), and funding agencies met again in Italy the following year (Bellagio, 1973).

A dozen more persons deserve special mention as additional readers of the *Guide* in draft and as supporters in particular capacities in the Center. The readers were: Dr. Lee L. Bean, until recently Associate Director of the Demography Division, Population Council, and now Chairman of the Department of Sociology, University of Utah; Dr. Abraham S. David, UNC representative with the Population Dynamics Programme of the University of Ghana on contract with the Research Triangle Institute; and Dr. John M. Thomas, then acting director of the Policy Sciences Program of the State University of New York at Buffalo, now Chairman of the Urban Studies Program of SUNY's School of Management. Dr. Oron South's thinking on networks and how to organize and manage them was particularly helpful for the last chapter; he is a historian trained in engineering, and consults with large school systems in Florida and other organizations. Two immediate colleagues at the Center, Drs. Arnold Kaluzny and Betty Cogswell, have shown particular interest in this work and helped it in many ways. Only those who know what my drafts look like can appreciate the assistance I have received in the office over the months from Marcia Petrillo, Susan Miles, Macie Lind, Mimi Keever, Virginia Miller, Mary Julian, and Roxane Stewart.

Rolf P. Lynton
Chapel Hill
August, 1974

10

University Population Program 1972-73

INTERNATIONAL STUDY GROUP 1973

Al-Azhar University, Egypt	Badawi Abd-El-Lateef Awad, Rector
Federal University of Rio de Janiero, Brazil	Djacir Menezes, Rector
Hacettepe University, Turkey	Ihsan Dogramaci, M.D., President
Javeriana University, Colombia	Alfonso Borrero, S.J., Rector
Mahidol University, Thailand	Kasarn Chartikavanij, M.D., Rector
	Swasdi Skulthai, Vice-Rector for Planning and Development
Pahlavi University, Iran	Farhang Mehr, Chancellor
University of Ghana, Ghana	A. A. Kwapong, Vice-Chancellor
University of Ife, Nigeria	H. A. Oluwasanmi, Vice-Chancellor
University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill	Cecil G. Sheps, Vice-Chancellor for Health Affairs

INTERNATIONAL TASK GROUP 1973

Paul Burgess, Director, Center for Population, University of Florida at Gainesville, U.S.A.

Jean-Claude Chasteland, Chief, Population Unit, U.N. Social Office, Beirut, Lebanon

Mercedes Concepcion, Director, Population Institute, University of the Philippines, Philippines

K. E. de Graft-Johnson, Head, Department of Sociology; Chairman, Population Committee, University of Ghana, Ghana

Ramiro Delgado, M.D., Director, Population Program and Director, International Program, School of Public Health, Tulane University, New Orleans, U.S.A. (formerly Director, Population Program, Universidad del Valle, Colombia)

Nusret Fisek, M.D., former Director, Institute of Population Studies, Hacettepe University, Turkey

Moye W. Freymann, Director, Carolina Population Center, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, U.S.A.

Saad Gadalla, Associate Director, Social Research Center, American University at Cairo, Egypt

Fouad Hefnawe, Chairman, Department of Obstetrics-Gynecology, Al-Azhar University, Egypt

Mazhar Hussain, Director, Social Sciences Research Centre, University of Punjab, Pakistan

Adenola Igun, Director, Institute of Population and Manpower Studies, University of Ife, Nigeria

Jahangir Khan, Assistant Professor, Department of Sociology, University of Karachi, Pakistan

Husnii Kisnisci, M.D., Director, Institute of Population Studies, Hacettepe University, Turkey

Boonlert Leoprapai, Director, Institute for Population and Social Research, Mahidol University, Thailand

Francis C. Madigan, S.J., Director, Research Institute for Mindanao Culture, Xavier University, Philippines

M. H. Mofidi, Executive Director, Inter-University Council of Iran, University of Teheran, Iran

Visid Parachuabmeh, Director, Institute of Population Studies, Chulalongkorn University, Thailand

Udai Pareek, Dean, School of Sciences and Humanities, University of Udaipur, India

M. R. M. Prasad, Convenor, Committee for the Establishment of a Population Center, University of Delhi, India

Mokhzani bin Abdul Rahim, Dean, Faculty of Economics and Administration, University of Malaya, Malaysia

A. Ronaghy, Associate Professor, Family Medicine, Pahlavi University, Iran

Louis Verhoestraete, Director, School of Public Health, American University of Beirut, Lebanon

Pravin M. Visaria, Demographer, Department of Economics, University of Bombay, India

CO-DIRECTORS IN RESEARCH TRIANGLE AREA, NORTH CAROLINA, U.S.A. 1973

John B. Graham, Professor, Department of Pathology, School of Medicine	University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill
Arden Miller, Professor, Department of Maternal and Child Health, School of Public Health	University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill
Arnold S. Nash, Professor, Department of Religion, College of Arts and Sciences	University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill
Jackson Rigney, Dean for International Programs	North Carolina State University
Joseph Spengler, Professor, Department of Economics	Duke University

Introduction—
Purpose of Guide: Mapping
What the Current Map Shows: A Summary

PURPOSE OF GUIDE: MAPPING

When Christopher Columbus landed in America, he hailed it as India, where he had wanted to go. A map would have made all the difference.

Even a crude map. Any map. Even a map of the kind available at that time, which at least had the main known land masses roughed in, though they are barely recognizable as the continents on the maps today. Navigators now sail by charts replete with detail. The difference between the maps then and now comes from hundreds of journeys each meticulously recorded and then shared among navigators, giving precision to this coastline and that depth, noting currents, winds, and shifting banks. Meticulously, step by step, the navigators and mapmakers together have changed our picture of the world. Now we know where India is and how to get there for certain.

This *Guide* is exactly that kind of enterprise: an attempt to sharpen the map of the world of population program building in universities.

For (the few) *universities already committed* to developing major population programs, the *Guide*:

1. Identifies key issues and thus aids planning

2. Indicates various ways in which these issues have been confronted under different conditions

3. Identifies indicators for assessing progress

For (the many) *universities still facing the question of whether or not to commit* themselves to major work in population, and if the answer is yes, needing to develop a certain type of program, the *Guide* also:

4. Sets out the minimum conditions and costs for developing different types of programs

5. Indicates possible resources for help with starting a program, from other universities and university associations and from international agencies

A map, to be sure, does not replace the navigator's skill, least of all a map as crude as this still is, but it does show where to apply skill to best profit.

Nor does it do away with storms, or collisions, or cancellations of journeys altogether.

WHAT THE MAP NOW SHOWS: A SUMMARY

As it is now, the map shows 23 features which may be classified as "most important" (page numbers refer to their consideration in the *Guide*).

1. As between letting population research, teaching, and service activities emerge here and there in the university perhaps (or perhaps not) jelling, sometime, into a coherent major program or, as an alternative, deliberately *choosing* a particular kind of program and then working towards it systematically, choosing holds much more promise.

This is most powerfully so where the program is to make major departures from university traditions, such as emphasizing interdisciplinary work.

2. Actual programs now differ widely from intended programs.

It is particularly easy to get sidetracked by tactical considerations of program development, for instance, expanding a current activity, going after promised funds, or settling for a faculty member's individual interest; the costs of this are high and usually permanently damaging. Insufficient attention to setting policies and keeping them up to date has much to do with the distortion and failure to grow that characterize many programs (p. 6).

Program Choice

3. Five considerations are key for choosing one among the several possible kinds of programs:
   a. Some inherent characteristics of population as a field of study (pp. 18-19)
   b. The state of national population policy and program development and therefore what kinds of population work are salient (pp. 20-22)
   c. The university's particular character and its public image: what people expect of it (pp. 23-24)
   d. The university's vision of its future (pp. 25-26)
   e. What work other institutions in the country are doing on population (pp. 26-27)
4. The real costs of different kinds of programs, such as faculty, time, funds, space and organizational capacity, can be set out (pp. 30-34)

Against these the university can test its capacity and commitment, and policy makers and public administrators in the country can decide what to ask universities for and to which university in particular to allocate population funds and for what purposes.

Program Image

5. It is useful to think of the image of the program as the expectations important people and institutions have of it, outside as well as inside the university (pp. 41-43).

It is important that these expectations match the program intended by policy makers in the university so that the image supports the chosen lines of development --important enough to take action to insure this if necessary (it usually is).

6. Regular reviews and revision of program priorities are an important component of program development and also of efforts to support development with the right image: of clarity of mission, effective and efficient operations, and continued responsiveness to salient needs.

Place in the University

7. The prevailing trends are towards organizing programs into centers or institutes and attaching them to a high office of the university, for example, the vice-chancellor's. Both set the programs apart from other parts of the university and make lasting collaboration more difficult to achieve unless special steps are taken (p. 47).

8. The distance is greatest and special steps to bridge it are most necessary in the case of strongly field-oriented programs, even where their funding is safely in hand (p. 47).

9. Proper location of the program in the university combines three sets of considerations:

    a. The characteristics of the particular kind of program chosen (pp. 47-53)

    b. Its needs for autonomy in the university, depending on how different it in fact is from the rest (pp. 53-56)

    c. The linkages needed to tie the program into the university (pp. 62-64)

10. As between letting the program's position in the university emerge slowly and indirectly or establishing it deliberately, experience strongly favors deliberate planning and action towards it.

11. Linkage issues in connection with collaboration and coordination stand out as the most complex and interactable issues in program development and the most common root of distortion and failure.

12. Linkages are costly. They multiply with every new relationship. To be acceptable any linkage should be forged from just three considerations:

    a. The degree of interdependence in the relationship (p. 60)

    b. Its purpose and nature (pp. 60-62)

    c. Its location, e.g., inside or outside the university (pp. 62-64)

13. The pattern of linkages as a whole needs to be taut and be kept so, otherwise trying to manage it quickly overwhelms everyone's capacities.

In all but the smallest programs, linkages have to be planned and managed in sets and networks (p. 57).

This also surfaces competition and conflicts between linkages which are very important to deal with.

14. It is strategic to understand the entire pattern of relationships a program has and needs--past, present, and future--and to monitor and adjust changes in it.

Program Leadership

15. Sound leadership for the program is more important and also more difficult to find (even) than funds (p. 75).

The type of program to be developed and its next phase of development are the most important criteria for composing the leadership for a program.

16. What a program needs from its leadership changes over time. Strong and continuous leadership is best assured by building leadership in depth.

Where that condition is met, it is usually best to select the direction for the program early (p. 84).

Funds

17. Programs flounder and founder when they base expansion on tempting short-term funds.

A useful criterion may be to cover with long-term funds the salaries and allowances of all faculty members who regularly contribute to the academic work of the university (p. 93).

18. Using foreign funds is also tempting but has many pitfalls and calls for extra care. The risks are only worth taking (a) to gain time through anticipating changes in, for example, country policy and university funding, or (b) to meet a *temporary* need.

19. In any type of program, activities can be started which are particularly good for increasing faculty and administrative capacities in the program and for building up work and funding contacts: reinvestments.

An early concentration on activities which promise high reinvestments into the program looks like the most promising strategy for quick and sound program development 98-99).

Program Evaluation and Control

20. Simple "development maps" are available to show, sequentially, the kinds of issues, decisions, and consequences which confront programs of various types (pp. 104-113).

21. In addition to development maps, which are useful for setting the program on course at any time, monitoring and adjusting are needed to *keep* it on course.

Focused on the overall development of the program, this monitoring, etcetera, is different from evaluating specific projects; project evaluation is in fact *not* a good guide to program development (p. 123).

22. Program monitoring calls for the collection of data beyond personal impressions (pp. 128-29).

Data about criteria of institutionalization seem particularly important and are identified in Box 4.15 (pp. 130-132).

23. Collaboration between universities for program development is worthwhile if its purposes are clearly identified and tackled appropriately for collaboration at national, regional, or international levels (pp. 130-132).

This particular map is drawn from the actual experiences of administrators and program directors in 25 universities around the world intent on developing interdisciplinary field-oriented population programs useful to their countries, and from some lessons learned from analogous program building activities in other fields and settings.

IMPROVING THE MAP--AN INVITATION TO TAKE PART

The *Guide* is also an invitation. Besides these 25 university population programs, there are many more to join in the map-making effort. Also, the data and the procedures for collecting them need to be imporved. They are now excessively rudimentary: crude indicators, such as staff size, funds, lists of activities; some narratives, almost all in recollection, about what happened at some dramatic moments, some action taken, some consequences remembered years later. Evaluations of programs and of their influence on the larger university and on the country are virtually nonexistent. There is a need for logbooks in the manner of navigators', with entries made at the time of the event, to recall what program leaders actually noticed, what action they took in fact, and how this altered their course and their view of what lay ahead.

Finally, there is need for more sharing of program-building experiences and for pooling the information, so that the map can be improved for all. New programs have most to gain from joining this network, older UPPs have the most to give; but giving and receiving crisscross very quickly. Quite rightly, there is only limited satisfaction with university population programs to date, and new ones are needed by the hundreds.

Each program is unique, to be sure, subject to a different set of conditions from all others. But this is true of many endeavors and conditions which can yet be improved through learning and sharing. Columbus too thought he was first as well as right. We now know better.

CONTENTS

Box 0.1 Population in Development Planning 4

WHAT KIND OF PROGRAM? 4

Box 0.2 Developing New Programs in Universities: Some Generalizations by University Presidents and Directors in Western Countries 6
Box 0.3 Map of Population Program Development 8

THE PLACE OF THE PROGRAM IN THE UNIVERSITIES 9

PROGRAM RESOURCES: MEN, MONEY, AND A SENSE OF HUMOR 9

KEEPING THE PROGRAM ON COURSE: MONITORING AND EVALUATION 10

LEARNING FROM OTHER PROGRAMS: INTERUNIVERSITY NETWORKS FOR COLLABORATION 10

Five Sets of Policy Issues

. . . development is hindered as much by a lack of knowledge, or a failure to apply the knowledge already available, as by inadequate resources. At this particular moment in time, the knowledge gap is even more critical than the resource gap.

Secretary of State for External Affairs, Canada, 1969

Various interfaculty programs . . . have already been created in such specific problem areas as technology, urban problems, population, and international affairs. Some of these ventures have worked much better than others. We need to review our experience carefully in order to try to identify the ingredients that are needed to mount successful collaborative effort. . . .

President, Harvard University, 1972

Population growth is an issue that appropriately concerns every country. The problems attached to that issue are many; they will be defined and resolved in different ways according to local patterns and priorities. Common to all of these ways is the need for expert information and expertly trained people. Providing these is the work of universities. This work, as it relates to understanding population growth, must be introduced into processes of decision making that determine public policies and practices essential to the harmonious relationships between man and his world.

Concerns that attach to population growth are also urgent. The doubling time of the world's population is currently 32 years and decreasing, and the growth is so distributed that the poorest countries grow the fastest. Growth of this order and its discrepancies has massive implications for living arrangements, food supplies and prices, labor and employment, laws, and political life. Yet despite the centrality of the population issue, knowledge about it has so far influenced national development plans and public action only very little (see Box 0.1).

And the same applies to universities, though many are under growing pressure to concern themselves practically with population and national development. Just a few months ago, a member of the planning board of a large Asian country asked just one question of a university delegation which had come for more funds: What work were their universities doing which spoke to conditions in the country when there would be twice as many millions as this year, just 20 some years hence? There was no answer to satisfy him. And there were no more funds.

Box 0.1. POPULATION IN DEVELOPMENT PLANNING

During the United Nations' development decade of the 1960s attempts were made by many less developed countries to rationalize and formalize their approach to development planning. . . . To determine the importance given to population growth in the overall strategy of development planning, this study analyzes the population content of national development plans from seventy countries. . . .

The major findings are as follows: First, most countries used very little demographic data in their development planning. Second, most countries were not planning for the consequences of short-term population growth in their national plans. Of particular importance in this respect was the lack of short-run projections for the labor force and school-age populations. Third, only twenty-seven countries of the seventy analyzed recognized any "population problems" in their development plans. And finally, only eighteen of the seventy countries analyzed supported policies and programs to reduce fertility in their development plans.

B. Maxwell Stamper, 1973.

Establishing a population program in a university is an attractive response to these pressures. But what kind of program? To continue the remarks of Harvard's president heading this section, what *is* "the sort of contribution to society that universities are uniquely able to make?" That is the first question, preceding even the sore question of funds; for well-thought-out population programs seem to generate funds pretty readily--if, that is, they do not offend politically and do look feasible.

WHAT KIND OF PROGRAM?

Pressures are mounting on people and governments to "do something" about population. But without better understanding of what the population "problem" really is, what its causal structures are, and how it relates to other problems like ecology and urbanization, even increasingly frantic activity achieves little and costs much. In population programs so far, fashion has succeeded passing fashion.

The useful alternative is to look at the local, national, and world situation and identify in it work that universities can do.

Clearly needed are research to establish more powerful conceptualizations and more promising models on which to base population policies and service programs, better information to guide and adapt action, and also models for the better use of knowledge about population. Only one step behind these is the need for more expert researchers, theoreticians, program designers, and administrators; also teachers of these experts.

This is the general agenda, but choices for particular universities are also not hard to come by. It is up to the universities to take the lead in working out the choices. If they do not, it is very understandable that policy makers and administrators in many countries will insist that universities get involved in population work as *they* see it, even if those activities suit universities less. For universities, moving too slowly in so serious a public issue as population may result in grave consequences: either they lose autonomy of direction by working on command or they lose public support and public funds.

Seeing the value of taking the initiative, however, does not settle the question of what kind of program to develop in a particular university. A simple scan of existing UPPs shows a confusing variety, for the most part not obviously related to varying conditions in country or university. A few programs are little more than titles plus a list of names on a letterhead: sudden creations to compete for national and international funds. Among bona fide programs, most are in the academic tradition of adding a new subfield to an existing department, such as demography to sociology, or family planning in schools of medicine, nursing, or public health. Some other programs go beyond this and cut across disciplinary lines.

Sorting them differently, while most existing programs concentrate on research projects and on educating students within one discipline and are carried out by individual scholars, others focus more on applied work, such as policy-oriented research and training expert manpower, and involve several disciplines and scholars working together. Some of these "applied programs" employ "outsiders" in important positions and have close contact with policy makers and public administrators. Some center on delivering family planning services in the community. These latter UPPs, which have a strong outward focus, commonly run into difficulties with the rest of the university.

Another distinction is simply time: some universities are further along with their population programs than others. While many universities have various population activities going on here and there on the campus, such as *some* demography in the sociology department, *some* family planning in medicine, *some* migration and employment in economics, others have gone quite far toward incorporating the parts in a population *program;* some have embodied the program in a population center or institute.

But, though the variety of programs is wide, study shows that it is not random; and this fact underlies the attempt in this volume to indicate the guidelines for deciding what kind of population program a university might choose to develop, and for answering other questions following the choice. The set of conditions, notably the character of the university and the state of national population policy, which make certain program goals feasible and others not, can be enumerated. Certain features of university organization, identifiable from experience, make some goals more attainable than others. Programs vary in, of course, funds, time, and effort, and the university's ability to muster these limits its choice, or should. In some universities, the new population program has overloaded a system already strained to its limits by the student explosion--which is itself an exaggerated variant of the population explosion and of the explosion of expectations. Interdisciplinary programs, which are particularly in focus in this *Guide*, call for complex internal arrangements between departments and between departments and administration; these too can be mapped.

The important point is that developing population programs in universities anywhere have key elements in common. It follows that knowledge about these can be usefully shared. And by so sharing universities, governments, and funding agencies take a major step away from reinventing the proverbial wheel over and over again, which would be particularly damaging in this case. Finally, if both commonalities and differences between programs and their development can be understood, there is room too for prediction and choice.

The wide variety of UPPs has also another source, of a very different kind: many programs stray from what they were intended to become. We are not speaking here of the minor unanticipated consequences which accompany any major development and add spice to creative activity, but of major deflections and malformations: of small academic programs, which are the total outcome of far-reaching plans; of programs broken into disjointed, disciplinary pieces after an interdisciplinary start; of programs which either failed to get into the field as intended or--a common alternative--got there and stayed there but compromised their autonomy and sometimes their scholarly standards of work as they attempted to safeguard continued funding for an overextended operation; and of programs which after a promising start in a few years lost all their staff and folded.

Overall, the deformations are predominently of one kind: too many programs bunched together in the small, disciplinary, academically-oriented categories were intended to go elsewhere. In short, existing programs, as a set, do *not* reflect at all well the intentions of their creators. That these shortcomings are not peculiar to universities in developing countries or to population programs (see Box 0.2) underlines the need for extra care and circumspection.

Box 0.2. DEVELOPING NEW PROGRAMS IN UNIVERSITIES: SOME GENERALIZATIONS BY UNIVERSITY PRESIDENTS AND DIRECTORS IN WESTERN COUNTRIES

A number of experimental [programs] have been launched within the past fifteen years. Almost without exception they have either appealed to only a restricted segment . . . or they have slid slowly back toward conformity with older institutions, or they have failed entirely.

President, Harvard University, 1971

The relationship between the university and its environment has never been defined in more than an overly abstract way. For some, the university is a citadel, aloof, occasionally lobbing in society the shells of social criticism. Others prefer a somewhat similar model, that of the "speculatorium," where scholars, protected by garden walls, meditate away from society's pollutants. Still others envisage the university as an "agent of change," a catalytic institution capable of revolutionizing the nation's organizations and professions. In fact, a recent sociological study listed almost fifty viable goals for the university (a reflection of our ambivalence and confusions as much as anything), and university catalogs usually list them all.

The role of the university in society might be easier to define if it were not for one unpalatable fact. Though it is not usually recognized, the truth is that the university is not self-supporting. This has always been true.

We need [a university] that can help make a virtue out of contingency rather than one which induces hesitancy or its reckless companion, expedience.

President, University of Cincinnati, 1972

Centers frequently lack philosophic justification. . . . Their founders have too seldom addressed themselves to their roles in the total functions of the university.

Program Director, University of Illinois, 1971

There are available powerful but entirely respectable means of drawing faculty into particular fields selected for emphasis by the governing authorities.

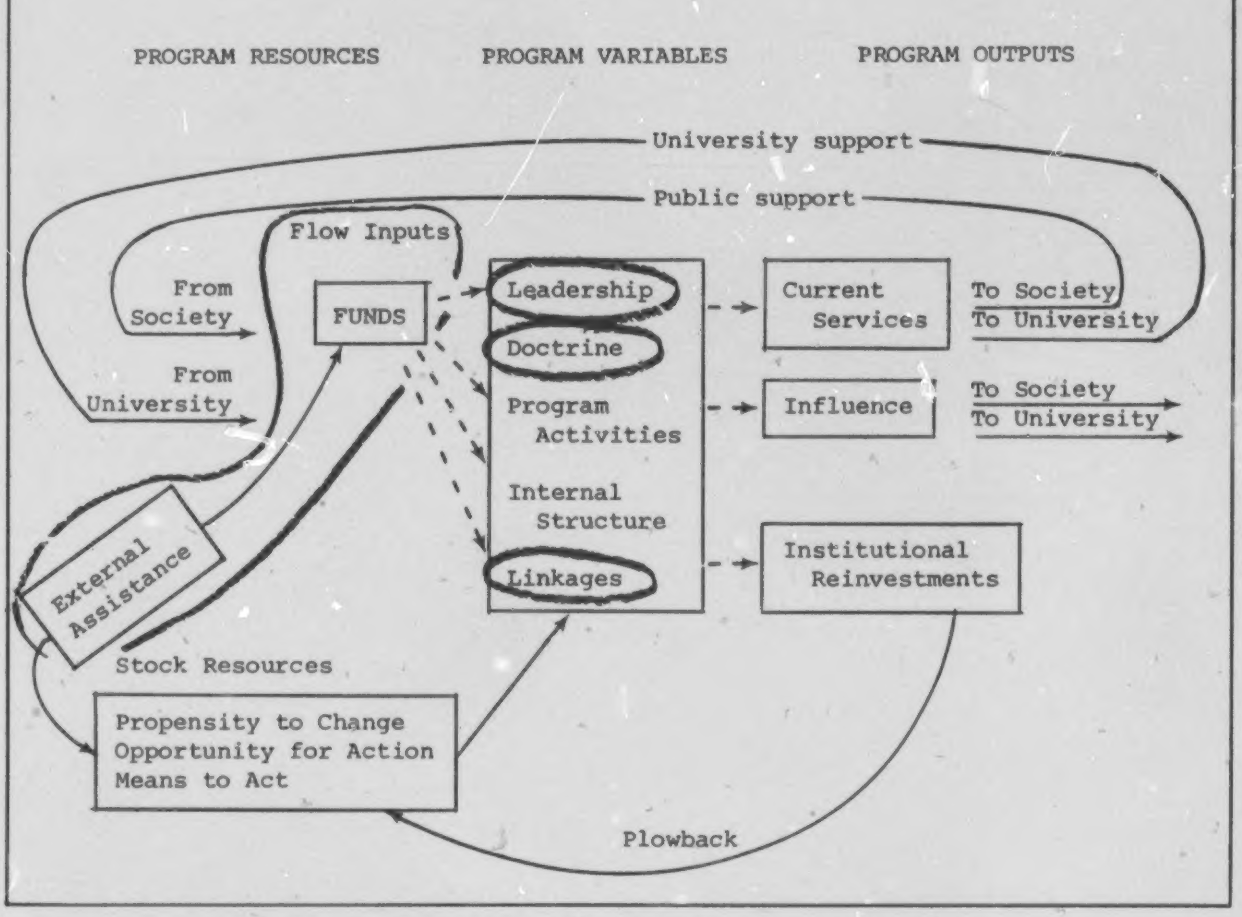
What counts in actual practice is how the university interprets the needs of society and how the interests of the faculty are molded to conform with the defined purposes of the [program].

Program Director, University of Hawaii, 1972

It is impossible to tell how many difficulties, failures, and permanent malformations might have been avoided if there had been a better map to guide program development. A map can insure that all important facets of developing a particular program are at least in view, and can stay in view after the start is made and the journey progresses. What the unintended bunching of present UPPs shows is that many programs must have started out inappropriately for their destinations or that they got stuck permanently at what were supposed to be only intermediary stopping places along the way.

The map we propose as a guide for population program development in universities comes in Box 0.3. Like maps of land or sea, it is not the territory, only a particular abstraction of it. There are particular conditions on the actual ground that the map does not show, but which must influence what to heed in the circumstances and what particular routes to follow. A conceptual map like this one shows all major components of the program and its environment. These components and the relationships between them must be in the developer's field of attention, at the start and later on.

Box 0.3. MAP OF POPULATION PROGRAM DEVELOPMENT (WITH KEY ITEMS FOR POLICY MAKERS CIRCLED)



PROGRAM RESOURCES
PROGRAM VARIABLES
PROGRAM OUTPUTS
University support
Public support
Flow Inputs
From Society
From University
FUNDS
Leadership
Doctrine
Program Activities
Internal Structure
Linkages
Current Services
Influence
Institutional Reinvestments
To Society
To University
To Society
To University
External Assistance
Stock Resources
Propensity to Change
Opportunity for Action
Means to Act
Plowback

The map looks complex, but only the four circled items need to concern policy makers in particular:

1. *Doctrine* is used by institution development people to cover in one word what administrators call mission, goals, public image, and a program's ways of operating. "Program activities" are the outward expression of program doctrine--or ought to be!--and they result in the "services and influence" to society and to the university which are shown on the right of the map.

2. *Linkages* are the connections of the program with the rest of the university and with outside agencies.

3. *Leadership* is a broader term than program director; it includes other program staff as well as the governing bodies to which the university attached the program.

4. *Funds* includes not only amounts of money from whatever source, but also how funds flow within the university in order to release actual faculty time for work on the program.

For policy makers in universities, the map is important on three scores: (1) for identifying their particular functions and for seeing how these interconnect; (2) for insuring that program development stays on course and that preparation for future development is well in hand--that is, for evaluating, monitoring, and adjusting the program; and (3) for appreciating the complexities which the program director and senior staff have to cope with and consequently the need for continuing strong top-level support if the program is to succeed and become significant. For policy makers and program administrators in the country the map is important to assess the capacities of universities to contribute to country needs and to receive funds for doing so.

In the course of discussing the first set of policy issues, focusing on what kind of program to choose, the other four sets have already been mentioned or at least clearly implied. We can identify them quickly. They give the *Guide* its structure: each has a chapter.

THE PLACE OF THE PROGRAM IN THE UNIVERSITY (pp. 44-72)

Should the program be located in an existing department or school or should it be established as a separate unit, for example, as a center or university institute? What are to be its relations to other university units, academic and administrative?

On the map these issues particularly concern program doctrine and linkages.

PROGRAM RESOURCES: MEN, MONEY, AND A SENSE OF HUMOR (pp. 74-99)

Men means above all program leadership--the director and senior staff, by all accounts the scarcest resource of all. Where can they be found or how can they be developed? Next, what outside funds are available and which can the program safely accept, and on what conditions? And how do funds need to flow so that they in fact free faculty time for population work? A sense of humor helps tide over rough spots; particularly in interdisciplinary programs there will be many.

KEEPING THE PROGRAM ON COURSE: MONITORING AND EVALUATION (pp. 100-32)

What procedures are useful for insuring that the program stays on course, and what top-level support will be required at various stages of development? These issues are especially important and taxing for programs which represent major new thrusts by the university, such as more direct engagement in public affairs.

LEARNING FROM OTHER PROGRAMS: INTERUNIVERSITY NETWORKS FOR COLLABORATION (pp. 134-40)

Common issues here are how to insure that useful contacts are made and kept alive, while avoiding taking so much time that interactions abroad interfere with action at home.

CHAPTER ONE CONTENTS

FIVE STRATEGIC CONSIDERATIONS IN CHOOSING A POPULATION PROGRAM 15

- Box 1.1 Tactical Considerations over Strategic Considerations: Destination Failure 15

Characteristics of "Population" as a Field of Knowledge 18

- Box 1.2 Five Characteristics of "Population" as a Field of Knowledge 18

The State of National Population Policy and Program Development 20

- Box 1.3 Practical Concerns of Policy Makers, Planners, and Administrators 20
- Box 1.4 Population Program Activities in 25 Universities in Order of Resources Accorded to Them 23
- Box 1.5 Government Positions on Population Growth and Family Planning Activities in 1972 for 12 Countries in the Developing World with Universities Participating in the UPP Project 24

The University's Present Character and Public Image 25

- Box 1.6 University Types, Prevailing Population Activities, Country Needs 26

The University in the Future 27

Other Institutions in the Country Doing Population Work 28

- Box 1.7 Services Required by National Population Program and Institutions Providing Them 30

FIVE TYPES OF PROGRAMS 29

- Box 1.8 Five Program Types and Activities Commonly Clustered 31
- Box 1.9 Costs of Academic Activities in Population Programs 33
- Box 1.10 Typical Small and Large Programs and Their Activities 36
- Box 1.11 Statements of Mission for the University Population Program: Extracts for Five Programs of Different Types 38
- Box 1.12 Contributions to Clarifying the Mission of a University Population Program: Two Examples 40

PUBLIC IMAGE 41

- Box 1.13 Program Image and Relationships 42

1 What Kind of Program: Missions—Goals—Activities and the Public Image

fragment to fragment clings
the things thus grow
until we know and name them

Lucretius

. . . the difference between the administrator's and researcher's approaches to research undertakings. While the administrator is bound to be exclusively interested in the utilitarian aspects of research results, the researcher . . . is more likely to see his research undertaking as at least in part an exercise in the pursuit of knowledge for its own sake. The two approaches need not be mutually exclusive . . . the social scientist needs to be persuaded to relate his research activities to the needs of the action program.

Director, National Family Planning Program, Ghana, 1971

New social missions can open up exciting new scientific questions, as fundamental as any generated by the internal workings of science. What is important is that no matter how much the broad strategy of science might be influenced by social priorities, the tactics should be largely governed by scientific criteria.

Professor of Applied Physics, Harvard University, 1972

The academic community in this country has completely dropped the ball in providing leadership on this relationship between demography and the dynamics of population planning.

Senator Joseph Tydings, 1970

Programs of population studies are needed in universities to insure that all future graduates--tomorrow's leaders--appreciate crucial population issues as they affect their country's development and the world, that professional students qualify for careers related to these issues, and that population knowledge improves through research. In some countries, such as in Africa, universities can take the lead in developing population studies where public and semi-public institutions cannot. In other countries, such as in Southeast Asia, governments are requiring universities to develop useful population programs as a condition for continued government funding of university education. The problem is to move beyond the broad intent and to define specifically what kind of population program to develop in a particular university. A few programs have formal statements of their mission, usually very abstract. For most programs, their mission can only be inferred from their activities. The results are quite unsatisfactory, as illustrated by the quotations which head this chapter.

It is useful for a start to acknowledge the diversity of universities and of the ways in which programs start. Happily, each university has its distinctive character. The issue is how each can make the most of this character for its population program. Some universities pride themselves on the high quality of their faculty and their depth of scholarship; for them independent, long-term research into the dynamics of population and new permanent programs of graduate education are likely to be desirable outputs. Others pride themselves on being first in a new field, or on their relevance in the eyes of the students through keeping up a tradition of service to the surrounding community. These characteristics certainly suggest other desirable kinds of UPPs. Of course what the university takes pride in and the picture it has of itself and projects to others, changes--but slowly. The university is no monolith. Its administrators, faculty, and students place their emphasis differently. From time to time they are quite at loggerheads with each other, as we well know, and the overall balance does shift. Perhaps it can shift under the new program's influence.

The historical alternative to changing universities has been to set up new kinds of universities. An exception may be the transition from a focus on preparing people to practice the professions of priest, lawyer, or doctor to the current emphasis on liberal education. Universities which have evolved in this way have become the Oxfords and Cambridges of today. They pride themselves on not being practical at all, except in the important Chestertonian sense that, at times when nobody really knows what is best to do, giving thought may be the most practical activity of all. So these universities too can have important functions in population. But they did not, in fact, satisfy the urges of the agricultural and industrial revolutions. So new universities sprang up: land grant colleges and institutes of technology. Now there are new universities again, like Nehru University in Delhi, or the graduate program of Javeriana Pontifical University in Colombia. Through combining disciplines in thematic thrusts of study--like national development or man and environment--they set out to wrestle afresh with the practical issues of the late twentieth century.

The point of this historical countdown is twofold. First, the notion of being practical is not at all new to universities; but, second, universities so far, once established, have found it difficult or impossible to accommodate new practical needs as they arise. Population and some other areas, for example, development or ecology, may occasion another of these disjunctions. Signs are indicating that this is already the active alternative for governments in several African and Asian countries; rather than expecting existing universities to change, they are tempted to set up new kinds of institutions, outside universities, even out of frustration and with no assurance that these new institutions will work more responsibly.

The central questions are what work needs to be done in population and which institution(s) will do what. Our explorations with universities have been on a broad front. Cutting across the variety of country conditions, university characteristics, and program beginnings, these two questions have generally been left unanswered. This has had one or another unhappy consequence. Programs either take on--all too soon--the character and the normal speed of the rest of the university, or, alternatively, they become heavily dependent on the changing wishes of operating and funding agencies outside the university. In the first case, population becomes merely another subject for courses and research, a new fragment in the "clinging" of Lucretius' poem. In the other, the program becomes one of the many academic experiments of little influence mentioned by the president of Harvard.

The alternative starts with *choosing* a program and backing the choice with a sufficient framework of policy and top-level support to give it promise. In the process of choosing, other institutions may need to be involved: (1) universities acting together, as in the University Grants Commission of India, to allocate priorities and funds among various types of programs which might be developed and universities to develop them; (2) governments, to identify and facilitate population work required for existing or anticipated population policies and programs and the contributions expected from agencies other than universities; (3) local communities and agencies with which the university might work. For the university the choice of a particular program, if it is to be as significant as the subject deserves, is an intervention into its smooth operation, not a mere addition. So it calls for careful thought and preparation in the university at large as well as for the new program itself.

FIVE STRATEGIC CONSIDERATIONS IN CHOOSING A POPULATION PROGRAM

Strategic considerations need emphasis if university initiative and independence are to be clear in this matter. These are sharply different from the tactical issues which commonly occupy program directors too early and have distorted some programs permanently. Examples of distorting tactical issues are: displaying, for funding purposes, more cohesion between present population activities than exists; administrative convenience; accepting outside funds for inadequately designed projects; and stepping into activities at which operating agencies have earlier failed. Box 1.1 summarizes what happened in programs that focused on tactical issues too early, with one example for each case.

Box 1.1. TACTICAL CONSIDERATIONS OVER STRATEGIC CONSIDERATIONS: DESTINATION FAILURE

Data about program origins and first steps suggest that one or two of the following four tactical considerations overwhelm other thoughts in this matter at the start and are associated with program distortions which then quickly become self-reinforcing and often permanent.

1. Making existing population activities *look* like a cohesive program; for instance, to attract funding.

Example: One university asked the head of the genetics program in the Medical School to assemble and chair a population committee. He invited the chairmen of three departments in the School of Public Health and the chairman of the Department of Sociology to join him. Together they decided to collect population projects for "program" funding by a large foundation. The batch of projects which came together were all departmental and all from departments directly represented on the committee and they exhausted the program funds. Sociology became disaffected. Though projects from other parts of the university were entertained later and funded from additional sources, the program retained a primarily public health image, and developed as a servicing and funding mechanism for individual and departmental projects, with no cohesive mission of its own. By the third year it ran into major funding problems on the grounds of low output to society.

2. Making a start *somewhere*: administrative convenience.

Example: The School of Public Health had space and data processing facilities and needed to be centrally involved in this "university-wide" program heavily oriented toward improving family planning services. So the program was located there "for a start." The following are extracts from the annual report of the fifth year:

> My understanding of what the Center is supposed to be doing is well known. However, there is not concensus on this locally. Is the UPP in the business of research, teaching Public Health students, or providing clinic services, or some combination of these, and is any more important than the other? This confusion may account for the event the other day in which one of the Assistant Directors and I were talking with a visitor, and the Assistant Director told him that the primary goal of the Program is teaching Public Health students about family planning and research methodology, and the Assistant Director then said he wasn't sure if that was less important than a goal of doing research.
>
> The service function also adds to the confusion, as some staff members listed on the roster do nothing but provide clinic services. Moreover, some listed there only teach at the School. And some couple these in some combination with the Program.
>
> Another symptom of possible goal discrepancy is seen in the monthly budget statements, in which some items have no relationship with research. And, of course, the Center car can be used for Center business when it isn't hauling personnel to and from clinics 12 days a month, and when it isn't at field training for two months. There is need for goal clarification.

I am not certain of the source of this confusion, but it may stem from an early unnamed and undated document which differs substantially from other documents I have gone by. Or, it could be a reflection of the fact that research is low on the priority list in the University here, and in other organizations in the country.

3. An outside agency has identified a particular need and offers funds to the university to meet it. Conditions: quick start and administrative neatness.

Example: More demographers are urgently needed to document the basic population picture in the country. The university develops a special master's degree program, setting it within a department (or separately--there are several instances of each). Three years later: other needs are identified, e.g., for policy-oriented research involving several social sciences and for training program administrators. The program invites other departments to join it to meet these needs. Responses are noncommittal: too much work, etc. The program director learns that the Faculty of Administration has offered to train administrators, but independently.

4. The failure of public agencies to provide a much needed service gives the university the opportunity to show it can do better, using public funds and at the same time improving its image generally.

Example: The university goes over the head of officials to the government minister and offers to run the service, "at least on a pilot basis." The minister forces funding and asks officials "to cooperate in every possible way."

a. The university finds the going uphill: officials do not provide data, contacts in the local offices are unresponsive and unreliable. Outputs are much lower than expected, costs much higher. After one year's trial period, the ministry refuses funding renewal at two and a half times the expected cost.

b. The university finds the going uphill: officials do not provide data, contacts in the local offices are unresponsive and unreliable. The university steps up its effort, runs services independently. At end of the trial period, dealing with the minister directly, the program is refunded and its area of coverage doubled. The program doubles professional and supporting staff on its payroll, develops its own administrative procedures and fully staffed administrative section. The university continues to sanction, expects program staff to teach at no cost to university. After three years program is located in separate building in town, in service area. Contacts with officials are through politicians. Contacts with universities are marginal: overhead payments to university, few services in return.

UPP Study 1972.

The five strategic considerations which need to affect the choice are these:

1. The inherent characteristics of population as a field of knowledge
2. The state of national population policy and program development
3. The university's present character and public image
4. The university's future
5. Population work by other institutions in the country

Let us consider each of these points.

Characteristics of "Population" as a Field of Knowledge

Box 1.2 sets out 10 important characteristics of population as a field of knowledge. They range from "value-laden" through bridging many disciplines. Also, work on population tends to affect strongly those who do it.

Box 1.2. FIVE CHARACTERISTICS OF POPULATION AS A FIELD OF KNOWLEDGE

Population as a field of work has certain characteristics of which five deserve special mention here because of their important influence on population program development in universities.

1. *Population is a value-laden subject for study*, and hence controversial and exposed to political and religious attack, even if intervention is not intended. Universities in Latin America and Africa know this well, but this characteristic continues also long after a national population policy is in effect and a program well established, as in many Asian countries, throughout Europe, North America, Australia, and New Zealand. The controversies about abortion in many countries bear strong witness to this. If intervention is intended, for example, in applied programs, issues of power and its distribution in society of course move to the fore, whatever the subject of study.

2. *Important aspects of population dynamics become clear only as someone intervenes to change them.* This characteristic, which population shares with other studies of social issues, gives special weight to research combined with action and service closely combined with research. And these combinations are difficult to accomplish, as is well known.

3. *Population is an interdisciplinary field of study with indeterminable boundaries.* Value-laden, it needs to bring in disciplines that deal with values: religion, philosophy, law, history. For applied work, it has strong components in the social and medical sciences and in economics.

Migration brings in geography and reproductive zoology. For basic work the natural sciences are involved. And so on. The study of population has therefore to proceed outward, starting with a focus on some problem and including in the study whatever it takes from any discipline to lead to better understanding. One implication of this is that projects often produce "spin-offs" which will be important to pursue, even though they did not figure in the original goals. Another is that major population questions call for simultaneous work on all major facets of the problem, and this work must often be sustained for long periods.

4. *Many important decisions concerning population are reached by large numbers of people* in the privacy of their widely scattered homes. Individual motivation and social norms, such as family size, are therefore especially important to study. If effective change is an aim, projects take long to complete and their effects longer still to evaluate.

5. With the field so broad and indeterminate, and many important decisions subject to individual, private wishes, the *field component in population work is unusually important*. That means the energy of many scholars must focus outward on people at work and in their homes, and not just inward on students, courses, and university programs. It also means that *feedback loops of learning need to operate throughout the field of study*. Otherwise, important information that is so widely distributed and also private will not become part of the body of general knowledge. This is different from the classic teacher/student model in which the university is in the role of owner and dispenser of knowledge. Here all have some knowledge and all are ignorant of each other's knowledge; unless, that is, something more is done to meet the need for collaborative studying and sharing.

It is a daunting but also an exciting list. Daunting, because these are complex characteristics, difficult to study and to handle in practice, and certain to provoke sharp differences in many universities as universities are organized and working now. Exciting, because the list for population study matches the characterisitcs of important other new fields which many universities also want to take up, such as urban studies, ecology, or national development. This correspondence makes even a major investment in a population program doubly worthwhile: what is learned in developing the UPP is likely to benefit the development of important other programs also.

Among specific items, the value question stands out for policy makers as especially important and urgent. Where do policy makers in *this* university stand, personally, on population issues? Do they feel strongly about population growth and intend to influence future growth through the program or, on the contrary, to avoid this? Do they see population primarily as an "area of substantive inquiry in which any number of frames of reference may be employed" in pursuit of stimulating scholarly work? Surely the energies and support the university's policy makers put into developing the population program are heavily influenced by personal values and priorities. It is important that this fact be recognized and to choose a program to which they can indeed give their continuing strong support in the university.

The second consideration to incorporate in the choice of a particular type of population program is the university's look outward to what the country needs and is likely to fund. This is the piece which the planning commission member whom we quoted on page 3, found missing altogether in the universities' funding request.

From experiences in many countries useful lists are available to indicate the kinds of manpower, research, and services likely to be needed at different stages of population policy and program development. Box 1.3 summarizes one such list as an example.

Box 1.3. PRACTICAL CONCERNS OF POLICY MAKERS, PLANNERS, AND ADMINISTRATORS

Stage 1. *The first response*

1. Informing ready acceptors (10-15 percent) of available services
2. Preparing policy makers, planners, public that *these* 10-15 percent will have no noticeable effect on birthrate
3. Organizing the best clinical, distributive, and follow-up services and preventing their deterioration

Stage 2. *Good technology and convenient administration*

4. Organizing health education programs around satisfied users of FP services
5. Drawing into the program more sectors of population at risk with their different norms and practices
6. Organizing staffing and managing services in the light of the different norms and practices
7. Staff recruitment and training in the light of item 6
8. Replacing traditional FP norms and practices by a series of improved technologies
9. Motivating, including financial incentive schemes
10. Preventing follow-up services from getting crowded out by services to new users

11. Trading off provision of low-key, private, continuous services against highly publicized, morale-building periodic campaigns

12. Insuring that private manufacturers and distributors enrich rather than restrict overall program effectiveness

13. Removing financial barriers to use of any FP technology by any potential user

Stage 3. *Health care for mothers and children*

14. Improving FP motivation by better MCH, nutrition, etc.

15. Translating lower infantile mortality into lower family size norms

16. Changing harmful weaning practices and taboos

17. Organizing, staffing, and managing widespread postpartum services

Stage 4. *Economic control methods*

18. Altering the views of families of their economic prospects and the financial implications of more children

19. Preventing initial increase in birthrates when incomes go up, if possible

20. Changing laws to bypass immediate blocks and strengthen support for program, e.g., raise minimum legal age of marriage

21. Providing means for labor-intensive agriculture other than more children

22. Providing direct financial incentives for small families

Stage 5. *Modifying socio-cultural factors*

23. Changing cultural orientation to family size and religious beliefs and sexual taboos which run counter to small families

24. Making planning--for anything--a more common activity

25. Raising age of marriage, through providing education and work for women

Carl E. Taylor, 1968-69.

The list shows that a country needs population research and manpower development of some kind at every stage. Migration studies, new models of delivering maternity and child health care services, urbanization models, basic demographic studies and family education are examples of valuable and well-accepted foci for university programs which are valued in the country. When any one of these categories is detailed into possible working projects to choose from, it quickly results in a long list. One list of commonly required demographic studies has 65 items (Linder 1971).

Possibilities of useful work increase still further when account is taken of the time required to do the work in relation to when its results are needed. Many programs of research and manpower training require three years or more. This means that for national policies and programs to benefit from the results, their needs have to be anticipated by several years by the university and by the national leaders themselves. For work on "modifying social-cultural factors," (Taylor's Stage 5) the lead times are much longer.

Data from existing programs suggest strongly that this kind of anticipation is not at all common. For instance, in a composite list of program activities ordered according to the time and other resources allocated to them, some important categories are far down even though they are basic to population work in the country, are university-type work, and take longest to achieve results. Training teachers for population education is a tragic example. Details are set out in Box 1.4.

As a ready reference, Box 1.5 indicates national positions on population policy and program development for the 12 countries in Africa, Asia, and Latin America in which the universities are located which provided data for this *Guide*.

A final word of caution about generally available lists of country needs: they are no substitute for direct contact between policy makers and administrators in the university and in the government, and to treat them so would be a grave disservice. Lists of work for particular university programs have to be worked out in discussion. A particularly painful way of learning this is to delay contact until funding time, when several programs learned that administrators had quite different priorities from those on which academic plans were confidently based, and in any case they resented not having been asked. Using independent funds avoids this particular confrontation but contact is still needed for formulating research questions and coming up with answers that administrators can use. Some programs which have failed to step outside the university walls now have the dubious reputation of being full of "philosopher kings," because they profess to be policy-oriented and claim to train people and undertake research to influence public affairs, but have failed to involve the people who are supposed to use the results. To this very important question we will return later (pp. 49-50).

Box 1.4. POPULATION PROGRAM ACTIVITIES IN 25 UNIVERSITIES IN ORDER OF RESOURCES ACCORDED TO THEM

1. Policy research and commentaries
2. Basic disciplinary research and teaching
3. Developing data base for population studies
4. Documentation service
5. Population services to students
6. Technical assistance to operating agencies
7. Applied research programs on program operation
8. Consultation to agencies by faculty
9. Applied research programs on program operation
10. Basic research on contract to agencies
11. Facilitating collaboration between agencies
12. Graduate professional education
13. Disciplinary courses for graduate and professional students
14. Large-scale services
15. Major undergraduate course program
16. Prototype service programs
17. Training operating staff for agencies
18. Exchange programs of faculty and practitioners
19. Mid-career professional education
20. Training teachers for population education in schools

UPP Study, 1972.

Box 1.5. GOVERNMENT POSITIONS ON POPULATION GROWTH AND FAMILY PLANNING ACTIVITIES IN 1972 FOR 12 COUNTRIES IN THE DEVELOPING WORLD WITH UNIVERSITIES PARTICIPATING IN THE UPP PROJECT

Region and country	1971 population (millions)	Government position A, B, or C*	Year adopted
Africa			
Egypt	34.1	A	1965
Ghana	9.3	A	1969
Nigeria	56.5	B	1970
Asia			
India	550.0	A	1952
Iran	29.8	A	1967
Malaysia	9.4	A	1966
Pakistan	62.0	A	1960
Philippines	38.0	A	1970
Thailand	37.3	A	1970
Turkey	36.2		
Latin America			
Brazil	98.0	C	
Colombia	23.0	A	1970

*A--Official policy to reduce the population growth rate. In addition to supporting family planning to implement this policy, countries in this category also support family planning for reasons of health and as a human right.

B--Official support of family planning activities for other than demographic reasons. Countries in this category usually support family planning for reasons of health and as a human right, but any antinatalist effect is a by-product, not an objective.

C--Residual category. Countries in this category neither have a policy to reduce the population growth rate nor do they support family planning programs for any reason, demographic or otherwise. The list therefore includes countries that are neutral as well as those that are pronatalist.

SOURCE: Dorothy Nortman, 1972, tables 5 and 6.

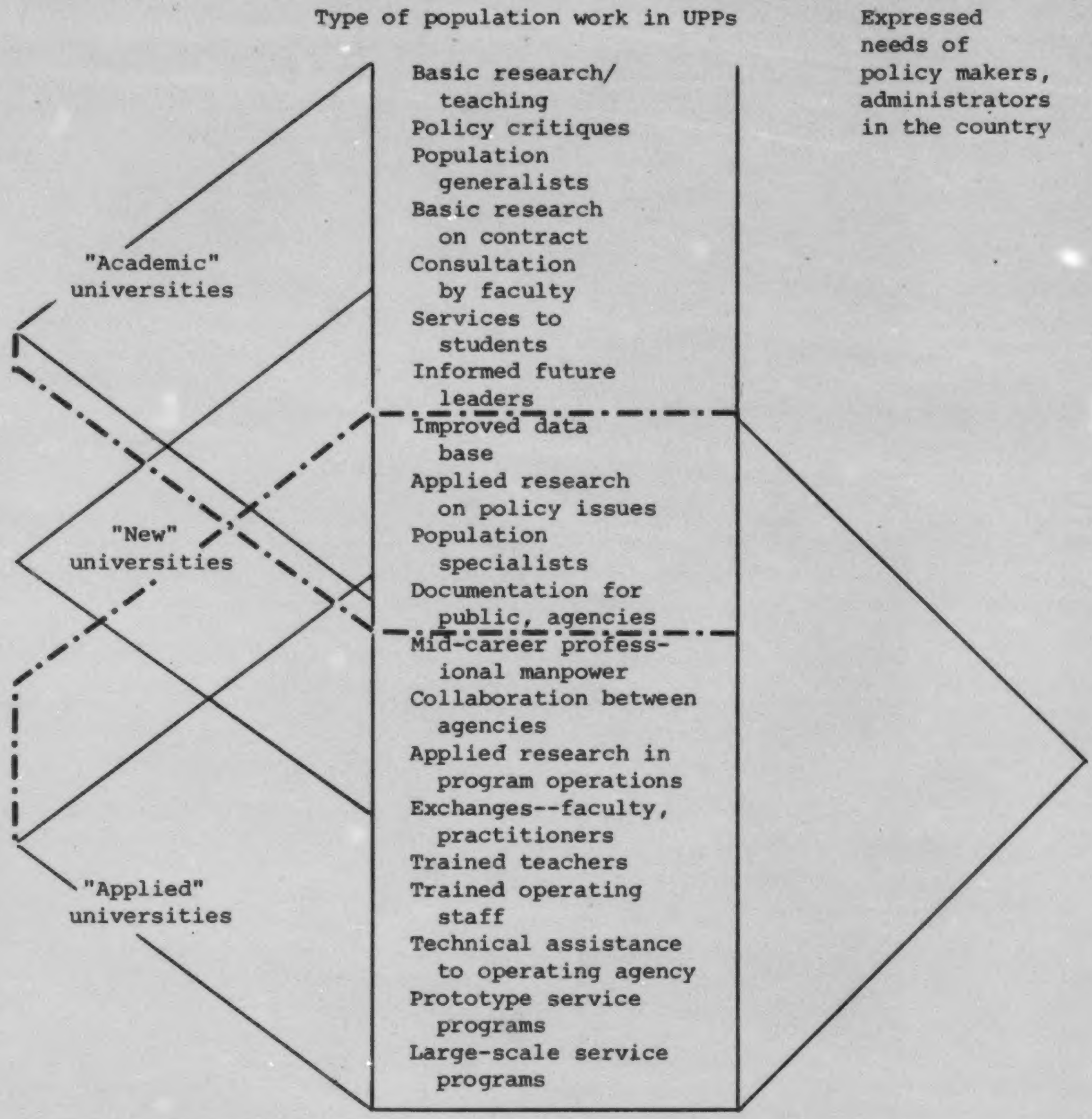
The University's Present Character and Public Image

After the look outward, to what the country needs and what administrators may fund, comes a look at the university itself, with the first of two important questions in mind: what is *it* like? That is, given its present strength and weaknesses and its credibility in the country for different kinds of work, what kinds of population program can it realistically plan to engage in, to encompass some of the lines of work which have already been identified as useful and needed? Universities which are in the classic academic tradition of Oxford, the Sorbonne, Leiden, Heidelberg, or Harvard quite properly answer this question differently from the many other universities which have developed more recently with a primary emphasis on agriculture, medicine, or technology.

The list of program activities in Box 1.4 becomes bimodal when sorted to compare programs in academic and applied universities, which is a useful first distinction to draw. There are many detailed exceptions and much overlapping, of course. But, broadly, population programs in primarily "academic" universities focus mostly on disciplinary research and teaching, whereas those in "applied" universities are more in training, operational research, and services. Box 1.6 sets out the list of current program activities again on this basis, with the types of university on one side and the country needs which national policy makers and administrators *now express* on the other. (The italics are important: universities have an educational task to broaden the perspectives of national policy makers and administrators.) A third type of university is also indicated, to include the few but important new universities that try to organize themselves around themes, like development or ecology, rather than disciplines. The Nehru University in Delhi and the new graduate program at Javeriana, Colombia, are examples.

This schematic presentation demonstrates three important points. Programs tend to concentrate on work most congenial to their universities and this means that programs in applied universities come far closer than those in academic universities to doing what national policy makers and UPP administrators ask for. But, second, there is no sign that national policy makers and administrators have yet identified the basic work they also need if population programs are to be sound and to succeed in the long run, or at least that they look for this basic type of work from universities. Third, the scheme points clearly to the strategic issue of which Harvard's president speaks (p. 6): for an academic university to start an applied population program risks appealing "to only a restricted segment" or failure "entirely"; but if the UPP is not distinctively different from the rest of the university, it risks sliding "back toward conformity." In theory the same applies in reverse to academic programs in applied universities but for reasons to be discussed in the next chapter it does not usually work that way in that case.

Box 1.6. UNIVERSITY TYPES, PREVAILING POPULATION ACTIVITIES, COUNTRY NEEDS


Type of population work in UPPs
Expressed needs of policy makers, administrators in the country
Basic research/ teaching
Policy critiques
Population generalists
Basic research on contract
Consultation by faculty
Services to students
Informed future leaders
Improved data base
Applied research on policy issues
Population specialists
Documentation for public, agencies
Mid-career professional manpower
Collaboration between agencies
Applied research in program operations
Exchanges--faculty, practitioners
Trained teachers
Trained operating staff
Technical assistance to operating agency
Prototype service programs
Large-scale service programs
"Academic" universities
"New" universities
"Applied" universities

Types of universities
—— Their characteristic university-wide concerns
—·— Their population programs

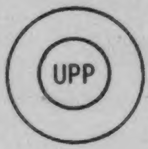
SOURCE: UPP Study, 1972.

The University in the Future

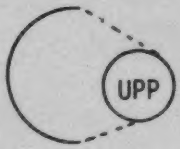
Developing an applied population program in an academic university has a different emphasis if policy makers decide to do this as part of a broad strategy toward shifting the whole university in order to engage more directly than formerly in the national development than if the program is on its own in this orientation. The former is the possibility the program director at Illinois points to (on p. 7) when he writes of the need "to redefine the mission of the university and to restructure its organization so that it may incorporate . . . problem-focused education."

The basic choices can be reduced to three and be visualized diagramatically:

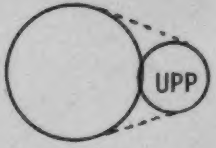
Choice A--Business as usual: no change in university mission



Choice B--A UPP within the character of the university but focused on national needs: some change in university mission



Choice C--A UPP radically different from university: major change in university mission



The principle for including the policy makers' vision of the university's future as an important consideration in choosing a population program is a simple law: the greater the difference between the new program and the university as it now is, the higher will be the costs of introducing and supporting the UPP. The costs include internal strains, top-level support, planning time, relearning and reworking administrative and organizational arrangements, as well as staff time and direct funds. As part of a strategy for changing the university's mission and its image with the public the high costs of a substantially different program may well be worthwhile. For instance, the university's own capacity to develop goes up if, through its population programs, faculty and administrators gain some important new experiences, such as working together in interdisciplinary projects, designing and carring out field services, and administering a variety of incomes and expenditures, all of which have general applicability. New opportunities to change come about also through the contacts a program develops outside, through faculty members sitting on national advisory committees, for instance, and through collaborative work with local and national organizations. And the university's own capacities for change go up as it makes policies and structural alterations in its own working to meet the new needs of its population program. By this time, too, many programs will have enhanced the standing of their university nationally and internationally.

Some of these by-prodcuts all universities would welcome; others have a mixed reception. Contributions to overhead costs out of grants to the new population program are universally welcome; so usually are growth and the stronger image and higher standing outside which many UPPs bring their university in the country and among universities internationally. These are practical and obvious benefits for the university: they ease financial pressures and may make other funding easier, too, for the whole university; they make the whole university more attractive to new faculty and students; they raise the university's influence where it counts outside, on educational and general development in the country. All this builds up into an altogether attractive reinforcing spiral toward good things.

But this happy sequence is not at all inevitable. Some of the by-products may be very troublesome for particular universities, or welcome at some times and not at others. For instance, the splendid-looking overheads are supposed to cover space and services for the program, which most universities have great difficulty providing. Also, the university may not want to have work growing apace in population so fast that it unbalances the whole. Even the issue of public image and prominence is not at all simple. An image of strong involvement in public affairs may please students, but put off scholars who feel they need quiet continuity of effort to develop their fields. Public involvement can snowball into preempting the time and effort of key faculty members and administrators.

The strategic question for the university to ask is, Are the probable by-products of a certain kind of program in line with *our* doctrine, where are we now, or with what we want to become? If yes, the benefits of the by-products are likely to outweigh their cost. An example of this calculation would be a university which is indeed eager to move closer to public affairs and visualizes a field-oriented population program as a very good vehicle for focusing its faculty more on the needs of the country, favoring public visibility, and trying out new organizational forms--even if they are costly. Similarly, a technical university eager to upgrade its academic standing may welcome the development of a program with an academic hue.

A caution: in every case we know, the costs of changing the mission of the university in response to a novel population program, and so also to give broad support to that UPP, have been seriously underestimated. This is said not to suggest that the attempt is impractical, only to underscore the importance of carefully counting the costs and providing the required resources; and of including in the vision and any cost-benefit calculation the possibility that the population program may pioneer new thrusts towards meeting country needs in the university as a whole.

Other Institutions in the Country Doing Population Work

The fifth consideration places the university program among the range of institutions which engage in population work, or may do so in the foreseeable future, including programs in other universities. The sets of available institutions vary between countries and stages of development. For instance, many countries which were formerly British have a strong tradition of governmental institutes to carry out applied research; others, for example in French-speaking Africa, favor independent institutues. Again, the provision of family planning services and extension work which is part of the American university tradition for agriculture, medicine, and technology is in most other countries the work of government ministries. In those countries the attempts to introduce applied university population programs have led to hesitation and jurisdictional disputes wherever the several institutions involved have neglected to assign responsibilities among themselves at the outset.

Nor is availability of services the major criterion. In some ways, the opposite problem exists where public services are overwhelmed by the pressing need for rapid expansion and governments at the local or national level encourage universities to take on the task of providing family planning services on a large scale or to take over some piece of population work at which another agency has failed. The activities themselves might be excellent parts of a well-thought-out population program (though, of all UPP activities, the provision of large-scale family planning services is of the most dubious practicality). But in the early stages of a program such specific responses have usually distorted it permanently, led to its separation from the university or its failure, and often only delayed the development of appropriate agencies on a sound basis.

Box 1.7 contains a matrix which looks complicated only because population policy and program development have many facets. It actually allows simple scoring of required population work against institutions to carry it out. The matrix is a useful basis for concrete discussions between policy makers of several institutions including universities. Any one university can use this to clarify what the core of its particular program might be, and make the information known to others. It can also with the help of this matrix identify the other institutions with which its program ought to collaborate for maximum impact and economy of effort.

FIVE TYPES OF PROGRAMS

Careful thought to the five considerations opens up a range of possible programs to choose from in practical terms. The essence is to choose and then solidify the program at its *core*--what is essentially in and what is out--and anchoring that core securely in the university. Once that step is taken, many variations and particular features can be added or explored, but not before.

Five basic types of programs have emerged so far from experience:

1. One-discipline programs
2. Multidisciplinary programs
3. Interdisciplinary teaching and research programs
4. Interdisciplinary teaching, research, and service programs
5. Large-scale service programs

Appendix A (p. 143) describes each in terms of its main characteristics, benefits, and costs.

Box 1.8 and 1.9 set out some concrete details of the program activities which characteristically cluster around each type of UPP. Eight of the 10 most important activities which programs around the world now carry out are related to a specific discipline. The programs have expanded existing departments and schools and called for collaboration between departments to only a minor extent or not at all. A few universities have several population programs in separate departments and at least one has two separate UPPs in the same department.

Box 1.7. SERVICES REQUIRED BY NATIONAL POPULATION PROGRAM AND INSTITUTIONS PROVIDING THEM

	Demographic studies	Other base line studies			Program planning			Staff training	Field personnel	Administrators	Other			Program administration			Program evaluation			Research & development	Medical technologies	Service systems	Material supplies			Motivation			Program funds			Mass communication		
Government																																		
Planning board																																		
Ministry of finance																																		
Ministry of health																																		
Ministry of education																																		
Research institute																																		
Hospitals																																		
Ministry of information																																		
Private physicians and clinics																																		
Private agencies																																		
Family planning association																																		
Research institute																																		
Hospitals																																		
Universities																																		
UPP at University X																																		
UPP at University Y																																		
UPP at University Z																																		
International funding agencies																																		
World Bank																																		
USAID																																		
Foundations																																		
UN agencies																																		
Foreign professional agencies																																		
Foreign research institutes																																		
Consultants																																		

SOURCE: UPP Study, 1972.

Box 1.8. FIVE PROGRAM TYPES AND ACTIVITIES COMMONLY CLUSTERED AROUND EACH

(Numbers in parentheses refer to ratings of importance by 25 programs)

1. *Disciplinary activities carried out in a university department or school*

   Policy research and commentaries (1)
   Basic disciplinary research and teaching (2)
   Population services to students (5)
   Consultation to agencies by faculty (8)
   Basic research on contract to agencies (10)
   Disciplinary courses for graduate and professional students (13)

2. *Multidisciplinary activities usually carried out by several departments or schools*

   Developing data base for population studies (3)
   Documentation service (4)
   Applied research on policy issues (7)
   Graduate professional education (12)
   Major undergraduate course program (15)

3. *Interdisciplinary teaching and research*

   Applied research on program operations (9)
   Exchange programs of faculty and practitioners (18)
   Mid-career professional education (19)
   Training teachers for population education in schools (20)

4. *Interdisciplinary limited service programs*

   Technical assistance to operating agencies (6)
   Facilitate collaboration between agencies (11)
   Prototype service programs (16)
   Training operating staff for agencies (17)

5. *Large-scale service programs* (14)

UPP Study, 1972.

The second important feature, which stands out in the third category in Box 1.8, is the low ratings for interdisciplinary teaching and research. It cannot be that these activities are intrinsically less important than, for instance, service programs--which head for extinction if unsupported for long by interdisciplinary teaching and research. More likely, interdisciplinary teaching and research seem less urgent, and therefore also do not attract funds as readily as service programs do. They are also apparently more difficult to organize and run well than service programs. Why? After all, interdisciplinary teaching is all within the university and should be easier to organize and manage than programs going outside into the community. The explanation may be simple: pressure. Pressures from within the university toward interdisciplinary teaching and research are low, and therefore so is motivation to overcome the obstacles to these activities and to organize for them. Service tasks, on the other hand, demand interdisciplinary working. Once the program engages in service activities at all, disciplinary divisions are eroded under the pressure of the work to be done, and interdisciplinary norms of working are developed. Service programs make such demands relentlessly, quite unmindful of the dispositions of individual workers or of weaknesses in internal organization. Teaching and research program on the whole do not.

Box 1.9 shows the usual costs of the different activities which population programs commonly engage in, in real terms: faculty time, organization, space, time span and time, administration, and additional expenses. The indicated costs are, of course, generalized for a variety of circumstance. But they indicate orders of magnitude well enough for the reader to be able to translate them more precisely for his particular situation.

Keeping costs clearly in view serves three important functions at the stage of choosing a program. First, knowing the costs that activities of various kinds would entail helps in testing quite realistically the university's ability and readiness to assume them. Thus one university, renowned for its faculty of business and public administration, drafted a mission for its population program that was strong on applied outputs, including short-term technical assistance. But it also decided to start the program only when funding for the specified basic group of faculty and services was actually in hand for the first seven years of program development and operation. The mission of another program includes the rule that it will not undertake "large" projects of any kind, large being defined as projects which preempt two or more senior faculty and university services in excess of half time or for longer than three years. A third program, strong on community services, insists on having an office central to the university, as well as its service offices in the community.

Realistic cost estimates also help national policy makers and administrators to encourage and support projects of certain types in those universities which are most likely to be able to develop and sustain them effectively. Anything short of such circumspect placing of work has had discouraging results, usually of two types. Either policy makers and administrators have treated programs as if they were pools of resources on call, causing serious disturbance to the regular work of universities, or they have relied on universities to know their own best interest and have accepted or rejected the work they offered on this basis. But the pressures are against this benign assumption and many times universities severely strapped for funds or in particular need of good will in the government have engaged in quite unsuitable activities. Several universities have succumbed to temporary offers of official funds--even short-term funds--and developed population programs which are patently inappropriate: now they are saddled with unfavorable reputations for little or low-quality work, large administrative machineries (used for fund raising and reporting, special accounting, and public relations), and uncertain prospects for the future.

Box 1.9. COST TABLES

1. Costs of Academic Activities in Population Programs*

Activity	Faculty	Organization	Space	Time span	Timing	Administration
Education						
Disciplinary course (2)	1/4-1/3 time	simple	x	1 year	academic	simple
Graduate professional course (12)	several part-time	some collab.	x	1 year	academic	simple
Undergraduate teaching (15)	several part-time	some collab.	x	1 sem.	academic	simple
Pop-ed for teachers (20)	1/3-1/2 time	simple	x	1 year	academic	simple
Research						
Concept/theory (2)	part-time	simple	x	varies	flexible	simple
Independent policy studies (1)	part-time	simple	x	varies	flexible	simple
Developing data base (3)	part-time	varies	x	varies	flexible	simple
Services						
Family planning services for students (5)	full-time	simple	some	permanent	flexible	simple

*Numbers in parentheses refer to ratings by 25 programs of resources allocated to these activities.

2. Costs of Applied Activities*

Activity	Faculty	Organization Within UPP	Organization Outside linkages	Space	Time span	Timing	Administration	Added Expenses
Education								
Professional manpower (13)	several part-time	some collab.	some	x	1 year	academic	simple	field work
Mid-career professional education (19)	senior field-oriented	some collab.	some	x	varies	academic	simple	field work
Faculty-practitioner exchanges (18)	senior field-oriented	some collab.	some	none	6 mos.	academic	simple	none
Pop-ed for teachers (20)	field-oriented 1/3-1/2 time	simple	none	x	1 year	academic	simple	none
Research								
Basic research on contract (10)	varies	varies	some	varies**	varies	intrusive	simple	varies
Work on data base (3)	varies	varies	some	x	varies	intrusive	varies	varies
Applied research on policy (7)	senior field-oriented	some collab.	collab.	x	varies	flexible	varies	varies
Applied research on program operations (9)	senior field-oriented	some collab.	high collab.	x	varies	very intrusive	complex	heavy
Services								
Consultation by individual faculty (8)	part-time	control issues	personal	none	varies	intrusive	fairly simple	none

Documentation service	varies	simple	personal	varies	continuous	continuous	fairly simple	varies
Training program staff (17)	varies	inflexible	high collab.	varies	varies	intrusive	complex	heavy
Large-scale technical assistance (6)	varies	inflexible	high collab.	x	varies	intrusive	complex	heavy
Prototype service program	varies	high collab.	high collab.	special	long continuous	preemptive	complex	heavy
Large-scale service program (14)	varies	high collab.	high collab.	x	permanent	preemptive	complex	heavy
Collaboration between agencies (11)	varies	varies	high collab.	none	varies	flexible	simple	none

---

*Numbers in parentheses refer to ratings by 25 programs of resources allocated to these activities.

**May involve special facilities.

SOURCE: UPP Study 1972.

The third function of careful attention to costs is to indicate possible tradeoffs. If sufficient funds *can* be guaranteed for several years ahead, a university may indeed decide on a program which will strain its existing structures and relationships but in the long run help the university broaden its overall mission. Again, the costs involved in developing contacts required for policy-oriented research can be very worthwhile if the same contacts are also good for raising funds for other programs in the university.

Following is a series of boxes with examples of some actual programs and their activities. Box 1.10 shows the main activities for two small and three large programs of different types. Box 1.11 presents extracts from a series of four statements of mission for university population programs in Africa, Asia, and the U.S. And Box 1.12 has two statements relevant to developing the mission of a university population program. One is from a public agency willing to provide funds for a program of a certain type, the other from a university planning committee proposing "principles governing the conduct of interdisciplinary programs." All are from the United States.

Box 1.10. TYPICAL SMALL AND LARGE PROGRAMS AND THEIR ACTIVITIES

(Numbers in parentheses refer to ratings of importance of 25 programs.)

SMALL PROGRAMS 6-10 staff--technical, clerical

1. *Academic*--6 activities:

    Basic disciplinary research and teaching (2)
    Graduate professional education (12)
    Developing data base for population studies (3)
    Documentation (4)
    Applied research projects on program operations (9)*
    Disciplinary course program for graduate and professional students (13)

*These projects look like a freak in this list. Study shows that the research topics are mostly methodological and specific to a discipline, and usually revolve around a well-known prominent faculty member or two.

2. *Applied*--4 activities:

    Applied policy research and commentary (1)
    Consultation to agencies by faculty members (8)
    Population services to students (5)
    Documentation service (4)

LARGE PROGRAMS

3. *Academic* 25-40 staff--technical, clerical

2 main activities:
  - Basic disciplinary research and teaching (2)
  - Developing data base for population studies (3)

5 subsidiary activities:
  - Applied policy research and commentary (1)
  - Documentation service (4)
  - Basic research on contract to agencies (10)
  - Graduate professional education (12)
  - Technical assistance to operating agencies (6)

4. *Service*: 110-700 staff--field, technical, clerical

3 main activities:
  - Prototype service programs (16)
  - Large-scale services (14)
  - Technical assistance to operating agencies (6)

2 subsidiary activities:
  - Training operating staff for agencies (17)
  - Documentation service (4)

Activities of these large programs seem more sharply focused than those of the others. Examples from their statements of activities follow.

5. *Programs with Broad Activities Spectrum* 5-100 staff--field (5-20), technical, clerical

A. "The central activity is to establish: innovative prototype health systems capable of overcoming the present constraints on family planning programs in particular and on community health programs in general . . . management information systems, client referral systems, manpower planning and development systems, patient education systems, and overall evaluation procedures."

B. Activities of the institute can be divided into four categories:

1. Working as consultants to various government agencies in their population research projects;
2. Conducting research requested by other government agencies;
3. Assisting graduate students in conducting small research projects;
4. Conducting the institute's own research projects. (Note sequence.)

C. "The fundamental activities are broken down into:

--Sociodemographic research
--Evaluation of national family planning programs
--Medical training in population dynamics and family planning
--Training in sex education
--Training in Community development."

UPP Study, 1972.

Box 1.11. STATEMENTS OF MISSION FOR THE UNIVERSITY POPULATION PROGRAM: EXTRACTS FOR FIVE PROGRAMS OF DIFFERENT TYPES

Small Academic Program in an African University of British Academic Tradition

Essential in the basic philosophy of the program are these points:

--the UPP is not a teaching institution, or the beginnings of one; population teaching will be done in departments and schools of the university, and they confer degrees

--it will enlist the collaboration of departments and other units of the university so that they themselves will develop their own research and teaching program; so that

--the program will be a resource to the departments of the university, for funding, contacts, facilities, etc.

LARGE APPLIED PROGRAMS

In an East Asian University With Strong Emphasis on Public Administration

The Population Institute has a threefold purpose:

1. To promote public and official awareness, interest, and knowledge about population matters in Thailand
2. To train persons in Thailand to conduct demographic studies and to develop materials in both the applied and scientific spheres
3. To expand the store of knowledge about the population of Thailand including the relation between population factors and various social and economic conditions

The Institute will pursue its purpose by:

1. Collecting scientific information on the trends and consequences of population growth
2. Promoting the public and governmental awareness of the problem
3. Studying the kind of population policy most needed for the country
4. Recommending and helping to prepare policy and plan of action
5. Serving to demonstrate to the public the purpose of family planning and population policy
6. Carrying basic and program oriented research for the benefit of the program and administrator

7. Researching and developing new contraceptive, administrative, educational, and motivational methods

8. Providing medical and other services for the public

9. Acting as a source of supply and of trained personnel for the population program and assisting the program agencies in their in-service training

10. Evaluating the population program

In a West Asian University With Primary Emphasis on Medicine

1. The Population Center will serve as a clearinghouse for information on population and social research related to health, to meet the needs and interests of the Ministry of Health, university faculties, and other organizations. It will also provide consultative services and assist, stimulate, and coordinate related research in various departments of public health and in other faculties within the university

2. The Center will assist in strengthening existing courses within the university through providing appropriate resources and consultation. It will also develop specific training courses in population as may be desired from time to time by the university and the ministry

3. The Center will also develop jointly or directly with other departments of the university specific research projects that may fall within the following categories.

    a. Behavioral science and biomedical studies of existing patterns of fertility, health, and population growth, and the factors influencing such patterns.

    b. Studies of communication, social structure, and social change as related to health and human fertility

    c. Studies of specific educational and organizational aspects of health service programs and the development of pilot projects to test different methods of operation

    d. Studies on improved training methods of health and related personnel

In a U.S. University With Strong Emphasis on Health

The task has five components:

1. Program management

2. Human resource development

3. Administration and fund rasing

4. Program services to government, e.g., regional and national planning

5. Research/Development/Evaluation

The fifth component is peculiarly the work of a university and the program will carry this out for all components of the total task. Thus RDE becomes the methodology of the program.

Central to carrying out this task is the assistance the program will give to governments in the United States and in developing countries in establishing innovative prototype health systems.

Box 1.12. CONTRIBUTIONS TO CLARIFYING THE MISSION OF A UNIVERSITY POPULATION PROGRAM: TWO U.S. EXAMPLES

Outline of a Mission Proposed by a Public Agency to a University

We are willing to delegate responsibility for basic research decisions to an external institution (like a University Population Program). We have two hopes and expectations from this: that significant benefits will flow from the interaction of a group of scholars doing basic research on population at a single institution and also that in this manner we can best support the development of a pool of new research talent and competence. We also expect to augument our policy-analysis capabilities by creating an outside research organization with a strong commitment to serve the agency.

Principles Governing the Conduct of Interdisciplinary Programs

1. No interdisciplinary program should be undertaken unless it will clearly strengthen the academic standing of the university. This implies that it should contain a clearly identifiable program of instruction, training, and research. These programs may well have components of service to the surrounding locality, the region, the nation, or the world. This is, of course, all to the good, providing that the instruction and research components are clearly visible.

2. All such programs should be under the direction of a person who is both interested in the interdisciplinary area and an established scholar in at least one of the relevant disciplines.

3. Such programs should be conducted with the assistance of an advisory committee representing the disciplines which are relevant to the program under consideration.

4. No person should be named to the staff of an interdisciplinary program unless he is competent in one of the relevant disciplines and has been appointed in consultation with the department or school in which that discipline is principally represented on the campus.

> 5. Programs of instruction for students in interdisciplinary concerns should assume that each student is thoroughly grounded in at least one of the participating disciplines.
>
> 6. Such programs should generally be supported with external funds. In some cases it may be appropriate to have a small core of university support. This support should be committed for a limited term--say,five years--and then carefully reviewed before the program is extended.
>
> . . . The ongoing planning committee, in cooperation with the divisional councils and the academic administration, should review each existing interdisciplinary program. They should examine the implication of each program for the limited number of faculty positions in each department or school, and make recommendations as to which activities will contribute most to the academic strengths of the University. As to new interdisciplinary programs, the ongoing planning committee should be involved at the appropriate time in the process of deliberation so the proposed program can be integrated with the overall plans of the University.
>
> University Planning Committee, Duke University, 1972:54,55.

PUBLIC IMAGE

The chosen program needs a public image to match. This is not an issue if the program is merely one more of a type the university usually runs and is known for, but it is very much an issue if the program is to be a major departure. Our data show that directors know this--by hindsight. Given over 40 possible issues about which to collect more information, most accorded high priority to program image. Box 1.13 shows one director's answers to a set of questions about his program's image, and then, in contrast, his assessment of the program's relations with important parts of the university. The issue for policy makers is how to anticipate such hindsight.

The biggest step, maybe, is to take the vagueness out of the notion of image. It is useful to think of program image as the expectations people have of the new UPP. Their expectations guide what they note about it, what they ask or refrain from asking it to do, whether or not or how far they will associate with it, or want to be seen to be so associated, and whether or not they can accept it as distinctive and worthwhile. Developing sound relations between the new program and the rest of the university on the one hand, and public agencies on the other, depends on guiding them to have the right expectations.

Deliberate work on this can be included, as a matter of policy, in public statements prior to choosing and starting the program and then in the program's first set of activities. Within the university, regular newsletters, participation by policy makers, and, later, by program staff, in open discussion, meetings, and conferences can be so valuable that they deserve the necessary time, even when time is very scarce. An important image-builder is the "documentation" component of the program: the library, and any reference and document services. Program image

Box 1.13. PROGRAM IMAGE AND RELATIONSHIPS

Below are answers of a program director to several questions asked over the course of a year as part of "Information from Many Programs." This particular program started in the mid-60s, belongs to the country's leading university, and is located in the capital.

Q. What would you like the image of the program to be, say, five years from now?

> "Center for demographic knowledge and information and focal point for all matters relating to population."

Q. In your opinion, *your university* is generally known as--?

Q. The *population program* is generally known as--?

Answers to the second and third questions are given as ratings in the following table.

Image	Program	University
A pool of experts: where organizations and agencies in the community/ country go to get plans and projects checked out	1	2
A place for experimentation: where new policies and programs are actually tried out	2	4
A place for professional training: where young people prepare for a career	3	1
A source of ideas: where new policies and programs are hatched for the country	4	5
A place for advanced general education: where increasing numbers of students gain breadth and depth for life	5	3
An academic community, rather isolated: where scholars and students advance and share knowledge	6	6

According to the program director, the program's relationships within the university are just "sound enough to get by . . . with many problems of achieving joint effort." Only two out of seven relationships with other units are better than that, even after five years. Interestingly enough, the best--a #2 rating on a scale of 8--is with the Mass Education Unit with which the program has an interdependent relationship. To other units the program "usually gives more than it receives." These ratings, for relationships within the university, contrast sharply with ratings for nine relationships with outside agencies: one #1, three #2, three #3, and two #4.

But asked "on which group(s) are you putting most of your effort . . . to develop the image you desire for the program in the future" the answers point exclusively to groups *outside* the university: "community and governmental leaders in general" (not just "clients"), "the general public, e.g., through newspapers," and "professional colleagues in the country or abroad," not "immediate colleagues in program" or "administrators of your university."

The program suffers from high staff turnover, and outside funds, which have covered 90 percent of program expenditure so far, are about to be cut substantially.

UPP Study, 1972.

benefits from developing this component early and establishing policies for it which encourage colleagues anywhere in the university to use the population library and any documentation services it offers. Similar means serve well for developing the right program image with important public officials outside the university. The few action-oriented programs in otherwise academically oriented universities have found it valuable to include early in their activities one or more seminars with public officials and representatives of other institutions working on population and to use these events to articulate the perspectives of the new program, iron out overlaps, and establish linkages for future collaboration. Early program activities to promote "public awareness of population issues" in the country generally can be both image-building and also an early item for collaboration with other institutions (the quotation is from a program mission statement in Box 1.11).

The objective is to encourage the kinds of contacts with important individuals in the university, public and private agencies which are in line with the mission and goals of the type of program the policy makers have chosen. Among the immediate payoffs are the support which the desired image gives the new program right from the start, and the growing networks of relationships which support the program. These components reinforce each other, either way: the right image promotes relationships and activities which sustain the program. Alternatively, the "wrong" image promotes what matches *it* and so creates obstacles for the program which are usually difficult to remove later.

An important part of the image is the program's stated intent and capacity to review its own mission from time to time and to adjust it in the light of experiences and changing circumstances. Review of mission, therefore, needs to be built into the program mission itself, right at the beginning. How to carry it out will be considered in chapter 4, which deals with evaluation.

CHAPTER TWO CONTENTS

    Box 2.1 Six Positions of the Population Program in the University 46

THE FIRST SET: FOUR PROGRAM CHARACTERISTICS 47

    Box 2.2 Four Program Characteristics 48
The Issue of Inclusion 49
    Box 2.3 Self-Closure versus Inclusion 50
The Issue of Interdisciplinarity 49
    Box 2.4 Program Activities Which Often Require Close Interdisciplinary Work 51
The Issue of Program Size 52

THE SECOND SET: MARKING A DEFINITE POSITION FOR THE CHOSEN PROGRAM IN THE UNIVERSITY 53

Seven Aspects to Consider 53

THE THIRD SET: PROGRAM LINKAGES 56

Autonomy Versus Dependency: How Many Degrees of Freedom 58
    Box 2.5 A Typical Pattern of Linkages 59
    Box 2.6 Types of Interdependencies, Conflicts, and Methods of Coordination 60
Linkages for Different Purposes 60
    Box 2.7 Typical Pattern of Linkages for Differnet Purposes 61
Linkages for Different Positions of the Program in the University 62
    Box 2.8 Linkage Issues with Departments and Schools 62
Some Linkage Mechanisms 65
    Box 2.9 University Policies Governing Interdisciplinary Programs: A Case 66
    Box 2.10 Three Kinds of Joint Policy Bodies 67
    Box 2.11 Composition of a Second-Generation Policy Board 68
    Box 2.12 Policy Regarding Joint Faculty Appointments in a U.S. University 69

SUMMARY: DIFFERENTIATION AND INTEGRATION 70

Program Characteristics 70
Program Linkages 71

2 The Place of the Population Program in the University

With the staff and students we have here, the place is an intellectual power-house, but it needs more switching mechanisms . . . to harness effectively this great potential energy.

President, University of Toronto, 1972

Departmental boundaries are as much a nuisance as an aid to intellectual and vocational identification . . . 20 percent of American doctorates have moved out of their degree fields by 5 years after their doctorate. By 15 years, the percentage rises to 30, and by 25 years to 40.

National Academy of Sciences, Washington, D.C., 1965

We are bound by academic departments. We can break it intellectually but not budgetarily. . . . The mechanics are already established. No one can get promotion, tenure, raises, etc., if not allowed by a department. We even have a kit to help establish degree offering programs; however, a degree offering center is remote.

U.S. Vice-Chancellor, 1972

[But,] breakthroughs in scientific knowledge so often occur in the interstitial areas between different academic disciplines and professional fields of study.

U.S. Program Director, 1973

A central feature of U.S. population research institutions is their conspicuous smallness . . . in terms of staff . . . and other resources (they) remain below, and typically far below . . . a critical minimum for efficient operation. . . . Technology and the scale has remained in the cottage industry stage.

U.S. Program Director, 1970

[For the Program to provide services] on a significant scale would create severe problems for the unit with other [primarily disciplinary] units in the university. Student participation in service activities is another matter. . . . They . . .

have more to gain from investing the time to learn the specifics of a real, day-to-day public sector problem . . . and the costs to them in academic terms are much less.

U.S. Program Director, 1970

As the [program] grows, innovators often continue to assume that they can stretch linkage by personal contact over ever greater numbers of people.

U.K. Program Director, 1970

The seven discouraging quotations at the head of this chapter--all from universities in the West--can be summarized into, "We would have more interdisciplinary programs if we could, but we can't." There are reasons to hope that universities in Africa, Asia, and Latin America can do better for population, because they are newer and national needs press harder. Under these conditions, clear and determined leadership by policy makers in universities and government may make the difference.

The 25 programs which collaborated in this study identified six positions in the university as their own. Box 2.1 sets these out, starting with the simplest.

Box 2.1. SIX POSITIONS OF THE POPULATION PROGRAM IN THE UNIVERSITY

1. Informal collaboration between interested faculty members for duration of particular project
2. Continuous collaboration between interested faculty members, e.g., population studies group
3. Formal collaboration between departments and schools for duration of particular projects
4. Formal collaboration between departments and schools on continuing basis, like a consortium of independent units
5. Population center or institute which stimulates, coordinates, and services project work in departments and schools, separately or jointly--primarily a service agency
6. Population center or institute which carries out most population work in university through its own staff

UPP Study, 1972.

Of the programs identifying positions, 14 are organized as centers or institutes (positions 5 or 6). These are the older programs; there has been a trend toward this form of organization.

A second trend is to separate the program from any one department or school and to attach it to the Office of the Vice-Chancellor or Rector. This move is associated with enlarging the program in size and coverage. From such a central and strong position, the argument goes, the program can stimulate and support population work better in additional units of the university. Program expansion is expected to take place mostly in departments and schools (position 5). But in practice, the centers themselves have done most of the growing, by concentrating funds, staff, and work under their direct control (position 6).

This unintended displacement deserves careful examination, because it is so common and has serious and lasting consequences, and also because it strongly suggests more deliberate policy making than has been common. Left to themselves, field-oriented interdisciplinary centers have in fact tended to distance themselves rapidly from the rest of the university, thus losing resources and influence there. At the extreme are several which spun off into orbits of their own, seemingly independent and self-sufficient--until crisis struck, usually three years or more later, when essential funds ran out or the university found itself saddled with undesirable activities and standards of work. Careful positioning of the program right at the start, then firmly maintaining that position, seems required to prevent this dissociation, along with strong linkages between the program and the university. Some recently enlarged programs, such as those of the University of Ghana, prefer the designation *program* over *center* or *institute* and operate more like "a consortium of independent units" with a central program office (position 4).

Proper positioning of the population program depends on three sets of considerations and these deserve systematic attention by policy makers. The first set concerns some characteristics of the UPP itself, using the program mission as the basis. The second set points to the proper differentiation of the program in the university--just how distinct and separate it must be to carry out its mission. The third set parallels the second and concerns the linkages which tie the program as a distinct unit into the university which is its immediate environment.

THE FIRST SET: FOUR PROGRAM CHARACTERISTICS

Four issues are important for settling program characteristics which can then be used for positioning the program properly in the university:

1. Which departments and schools will be included

2. How much they have to work together

3. How long the program will last

4. How big it will be, altogether

Box 2.2 sets these issues out schematically, along with the prime bases for considering each and some practical steps that policy makers can take to help work their decisions out in practice.

Box 2.2. FOUR PROGRAM CHARACTERISTICS

Issue/ characteristic	Bases for policy decision	Useful steps for working out issue
Inclusion: departments and schools	Program mission	Provide for outside review of program composition Include university appointees in program governance Leave "open seats" for departments/schools to join in future Provide multiple mechanisms for broad participation Provide neutral location for program
Interdisciplinarity	Program activities	Organize around tasks (rather than principle) Set up task groups early, including administrative staff Require regular monitoring and feedback Provide strong linkages between program and departments/schools
Continuity	Program mission	Provide strong policy body Establish *themes* of activities
	Administrative capacity	Require regular evaluation of program development Require strong program administration Recruit and support strong program leadership
Size	Program mission	Limit role of expansion to availability of *senior* faculty Limit expansion to administrative capacity and linkages development Limit expansion to 50 percent funding by university

SOURCE: UPP Study, 1972.

A brief word about each issue in Box 2.2 follows:

The Issue of Inclusion

Demography, public health, and economics--these three are included in 20 of our sample of 25 university programs; the remaining five have two of the three--demography and economics, or demography and public health. Beyond these three discipoines, the composition of programs varies very widely. Participation seems to be next most frequent for other social sciences, for example, sociology, psychology, and geography, and for medicine. Another 10 disciplines are included in a few programs each, from anthropology to zoology. Conspicuously rare is law, astonishing in fact, since *policy* research heads the list of program activities. Surely policy research uninfluenced by intimate familiarity with legislative processes and legal forms will tend to be severely limited: "academic" at best, perhaps misconceived.

The explanation for this curious exclusion, as for several others, clearly lies in the great distance which separates some departments and schools from others in most universities. So, when the inclusion issue is left to one or two departments and schools--usually those that already have the most population work going on--they manage it only as *they* see the need for others to take part, and usually this is on a very restricted basis. Such an arrangement really excludes, both in fact and in feeling. This tendency to "self-closure," as Karl Deutsch (1963) calls it, is aggravated when the initial group secures funds for "the program" which favor their own activities. Nothing explains so powerfully as self-closure how so many population program starts have become endings too, such as in demography and in public health. Most programs have in effect locked themselves in early, and others out. Box 2.3 elucidates this important concept a little more fully and distinguishes among its impact on research, on teaching, and on services.

The alternative for policy makers is to start by extrapolating from the mission of the program a list of *all* departments and schools which need to be included in it if it is to succeed, irrespective of where population activities are now in the university. It is around this set that closure needs to occur even if, as is common, not all eventual participants are able or even willing to join actively in the program from the start.

The Issue of Interdisciplinarity

The inclusion of several departments and schools in the program guarantees only that it will be *multi*disciplinary--a conglomerate of population activities of various disciplines. *Inter*disciplinary work goes further in that it requires the disciplines to influence each other and to produce outputs which integrate various contributions. Some major scholars maintain that, if there is any reason to have a separate university program for population studies at all, it is for integrating disciplines in front of students, in research and above all in service activities. That this integration would be beneficial tends to be assumed. But policy makers need to balance this benefit against the costs of heavy interdisciplinary communication and organizational integration.

Box 2.3. SELF-CLOSURE VERSUS INCLUSION

Deutsch (1963) uses the concept of "self-closure" to understand the life-history of systems large and small, of families or departments, as well as of whole countries and civilizations. That the tendency to self-closure is so universal may bring comfort to universities, their departments, and their population programs. They are in good company when they fail to grow. But by the same token, overcoming this prevalent tendency is most important if the programs are to become as broad as they intend; only extra efforts and thoughtfulness can offset the weighty tendency in the direction of self-closure.

This is trebly so in universities. The tendency to self-closure is a function of autonomy, and the autonomy of universities is traditionally very high: (1) of the university as a whole--the "community of scholars" distinct from "the world"--and also (2) all the way through, inside--the autonomy of separate faculties, departments, and schools, and, not least, (3) the autonomy of individual scholars enshrined in the notion of academic freedom. Much of value flows from this high autonomy. The point here is only that high autonomy means extra strong tendencies to self-closure and this is what universities have at all levels, even to the individual professor.

The tendency is also greater for some activities than others, and it is at its highest for research. Teaching and services, the two other main functions of a university, involve more contact with the world outside, like it or not, than does research. The distinction is generic, applying to research activity wherever it is carried out.

> Any research process . . . has an inbuilt tendency towards the formation of a relatively closed system, in which self-generated intakes crowd out intakes from the external environment. . . . Research institutes have . . . a natural tendency to become increasingly divorced from their (organizational) environments and their boundaries to become increasingly impermeable (Miller and Rice 1967:157, 159-60).

In population programs which start with an emphasis on research (and on teaching *graduate* students, that is, those students who have already successfully been socialized into the autonomous university and its autonomous discipline and department) the tendencies to self-closure bear down extra hard.

Lynton, 1973.

Several practical dilemmas have to be resolved. For instance, interdisciplinary work favors small, tightly knit groups of people who work together for extended periods: this approach runs counter to enlarging the program rapidly. Nothing helps develop interdisciplinary working as much as a task which demands interdisciplinary *decisions*, involving weighting the contributions from various fields of knowledge and integrating them. This is particularly true of service projects which are simply unmindful of walls around disciplines; but such projects interfere most severely with regular university activities, like teaching.

Box 2.4 extracts from the list of 20 types of population activities mentioned by participating universites the seven which often require close interdisciplinary working. Policy makers need to guide the UPP to a realistic mix of activities, and match this with appropriate resource allocations and organizational arrangements, so that the program can sustain the degree of interdisciplinarity envisaged in its mission.

Box 2.4. PROGRAM ACTIVITIES WHICH OFTEN REQUIRE CLOSE INTERDISCIPLINARY WORK

Large scale service program	(14)
Prototype service program	(16)
Technical assistance to operating agency	(6)
Training operating staff	(17)
Applied research on program operations	(9)
Mid-career professional education	(19)
Major undergraduate course program	(15)

The numbers in parentheses refer to how these activities rated on the average among the activities of 25 university programs.

UPP Study, 1972.

The Issue of Program Coherence and Continuity

Interdisciplinary programs as they broaden in scope and are beset by powerful tendencies to shatter into separate pieces. For programs which involve five to 20 autonomous departments and schools, a variety of full-time and part-time appointments, and complex procedures for managing disciplinary and interdisciplinary work and outside contracts, cohesion is bound to be a major issue, and program continuity is cohesion over time. Major structural mechanisms are required to contain the strong centrifugal tendencies at work in large programs. But even in middle-sized UPPs, say, with staffs above 10 persons, formal structural arrangements for policy making, directing, and monitoring are crucial in addition to strong continuing program leadership.

The Issue of Program Size

One U.S. program director (Demeny 1972) has listed nine considerations to incorporate in estimating the "critical minimum size" of a population program:

1. To achieve a suitable legal-organizational form
2. To maintain a modicum of assurance for institutional continuity
3. To provide a sufficient level of professional interaction within itself needed for generating and sustaining significant multiplier effects
4. To provide an adequate balance in the distribution of its professional staff, including professional support personnel with specialized skills
5. To make efforts towards a multidisciplinary approach meaningful
6. To support sufficient administrative and service staff to enable the professional personnel to concentrate on research
7. To secure adequate financial support required for long term planning
8. To develop programs related to and facilitating research, such as training, technical assistance, publications, institutional cooperation, conferences, etc.
9. To achieve a degree of scientific and institutional stature and visibility that is commensurate with the social importance of the subject matter of its research interests

He concludes that no university program is anywhere close to its optimum size. Yet it is also true that some programs have clearly exceeded a size that they can manage.

Two steps seem important and policy makers can insure that they both are taken. One is to map the optimum size and negotiate this with the rest of the university. The second, then, is to encourage expansion toward the optimum by managing its rate through such steps as are indicated in Box 2.2 (p. 48).

Clearly the resolutions of these four issues interrelate. After establishing a desirable range for each program characteristic separately, policy makers can work out their combination into a set to characterize the program as a whole and find expression in its mission.

The next question then is, how different a population program with the chosen characteristics actually is from the rest of the university, and how to recognize this true difference by the position accorded the program in the university.

THE SECOND SET: MARKING A DEFINITE POSITION FOR THE CHOSEN PROGRAM IN THE UNIVERSITY

This section and the next, the remainder of this chapter, only matter to programs which *are* different from the rest of the university, in orientation, determination to engage in public issues, or in ways of working. If there is doubt about the degree of difference, a quick scan of the second set of considerations covered in this section should settle it (see Box 2.2, p. 48). If the chosen program does break new ground, then it is very important that this be clearly and formally recognized in the university.

Otherwise, as we have seen, these UPPs either lose their originality or the university loses contact with the program. There is no simple answer. For instance, locating the program high in the university hierarchy may mean different things, and therefore does not settle the issue. High position expresses well the university's regard and support for the program, but as a corrective for earlier problems or as a way to give the UPP ready access to power when what it needs to carry out its mission is more collaborative relationships, placing the program high up can be a costly error. There seems to be no useful alternative to thinking these questions through carefully at the very beginning or, more painfully, when the program needs to be redone.

Seven Aspects to Consider

A good start is to compare the program and the rest of the university on six dimensions, to establish just how different it is, and then to design the program governance and linkages in the light of these differences. The seven dimensions are the four T's (in English) of task, technology, territory and time (Miller 1959), the relationships and working styles of the staffs, internal organization (Lawrence and Lorsch 1967) and the reward structure. A note about each dimension may be useful here, with some examples of possible implications.

Task. Task is the primary dimension for organizational differentiation, because of the different arrangements various tasks require. For instance, a program needs to set up numerous relationships if it has the mission to interconnect population activities already going on in different parts of the university, to stimulate more work in various fields, or if it is to focus (certain parts of) the effort on the needs of national policy makers and administrators. If this is the case, required relationships can be systematically charted task by major task. Put together they establish a pattern: the "task environment" of the program. This pattern can be compared to the patterns normal for the rest of the university. If they are very different, the program position had better be a separate unit as far as this dimension is concerned. If high level relationships in the country and high level commitments in the university are involved this suggests attaching the program to the top office in the university. Thinking along these same lines, leaving the program to grow in an existing department or school is *obviously* unsuitable for the above tasks.

Other types of programs, on the other hand, do not require active contact with more than a few departments, administrative units in the university, and agencies outside the university, and the program's position in the university therefore needs to encompass only these. If the required relationships all fall into the province of a "faculty" as Latin America uses the term, or a provost, the program had best be located there.

Technology. As used here, *technology* means the kinds of information, methodologies, and equipment and administrative procedures the program will use to carry out its tasks. How do these compare to the university's technology? Often the differences are great. For instance, population programs often have privileged access to official information, high level contacts, and computer services, and also to opportunities for travel and overseas training, while colleagues elsewhere in the university are restricted to library research and to simple data processing methods. These "higher technologies" are of course greatly valued by program staff; indeed they often have a great deal to do with successfully recruiting and keeping staff, such as with retrieving nationals with the highest training from abroad. But these technologies also lead to jealousies in the university.

Any major differences of technology and the way the program proposes to handle them therefore influences its position in the university, too. For instance, the program can make its data processing facilities available to others and policy makers may stipulate this as a condition for developing a certain kind of UPP. Some opportunities for sharing occur in all programs, at least in connection with library and documentation services. The implications for positioning the program are clear: special technologies suggest separation, *shared* technologies suggest easy access, spatially and administratively.

Physical Location. A program's physical location has both practical and symbolic significance. Irrespective of its organizational position in the university, is the program separately housed, or is it in a particular school or department? One program housed in the School of Public Health "for a start" did not achieve independent existence for five years, namely when it moved out. Until then, faculty, services, and personal contacts naturally tended to be within the school, and the program though designated to be university-wide, was everywhere regarded and talked about as the school's. If space shortages elsewhere made this particular location necessary, other steps were required to offset this damaging impression, such as a separate entrance, public announcements, and extra contacts outside the school.

If the program is housed separately, is it more or less central to the parts of the university (to be) involved in it? Is it near the university administrators--the power? Or is it, like an agricultural extension station or a university clinic, in the town, away from campus, and near operating agencies?

And what about the premises themselves? Are they like those of other faculties --small, as old, etcetera, or more like the office of policy makers? Special funding has sometimes set off programs on this score and maximized a distinction which might have been better minimized. Differentiation by territory leads to a special climate and culture. If this is intended, it deserves to be spelled out and incorporated explicitly in the program's position in the university.

Time. In question here are differences in time orientation: time spans and urgencies for producing results and for services needed. Between the administrators' proverbial pressure for quick results and the scholar's preference for long-term work, the university's and the outside administrator's time frames are often sharply different. The population program, depending on its type, is somewhere between these extremes.

Some existing large programs concentrate on activities in the middle range of time, or develop an output mix which deliberately balances long-term research and education at one end with short-term technical assistance at the other. A few (altogether too few?) also work on lengthening the short time perspective of administrators and on intriguing scholarly colleagues to devote some of their time to short-term issues.

Personal Relationships and Work Style. The extreme difference on this dimension is between the university's traditional emphasis on the individual scholar working independently and the public agencies' programmatic emphasis, which usually involves several persons and agencies controlled from above. This makes for very different styles of work.

On this dimension too, a successful applied program therefore needs to be properly positioned between these extremes, lest it be too far from the university or from user agencies of applied work. Successful programs actively stress collaboration with colleagues and with other units in the university, relating this to the mission of the UPP and its requirements; they do not wait for individual scholars to initiate collaboration with others if and when they wish it.

Internal Organizations. Compared to administrative setups outside, universities generally have fewer rules, broader spans of control, and fewer levels in the hierarchy. Population programs, more subject than traditional scholarship to time and pressures and funding limitations set by administrators outside universities, therefore need special decision-making and review mechanisms. Some of these needs policy makers can provide by negotiating changes in university procedure for the program, others through giving the UPP unusually wide control over its internal structure and its administrative and fiscal procedures. These steps then distinguish the program further from the rest of the university.

Reward Structure. The usual criteria for permanent appointments (tenure), status and promotion in universities are scholarly credentials (such as the Ph.D.) and individual scholarly outputs, particularly papers in professional journals and conferences, and teaching students. These do not measure experience or competence in using knowledge practically, collaborative work with colleagues, or training practitioners--or developing the university's own population program--yet these are more important criteria for rewarding work in "applied" population programs. Policy makers can work towards integrating these other criteria in the university's reward structure and so bring the new program and its staff closer to the rest of the university, as has been the case, slow to be sure, with agricultural extension in many colleges of agriculture. Or they can decide to compensate program staff for their lack of tenure and low status--usually through higher pay and advancement through a different hierarchy of titles--and so stress the program's distinction from the rest of the university. The latter strategy, commonly the one followed, may explain why important scholars hold back from joining population programs; certainly it distances the program from the rest of the university and affects its position in the university.

In summary, each of these seven dimensions suggests that there is some preferred position for the program in the university, usually a range of positions. The next step is to interrelate these seven so that one overall position for the program meets the needs of its mission, satisfies the staff, is reasonably consistent and manageable over the long run, and is also acceptable to both the university and to the program's clients outside. This is less difficult than it may seem since several dimensions interconnect naturally, and each offers some room for choice and adjustment. There are also ways in which the UPP can provide benefits for individual colleagues or for departments and schools in the university which in return disposes them to accommodate the new program, even if that takes some effort.

The basic question for policy makers is whether to let this composite position for the program emerge slowly and indirectly, or whether to establish it deliberately within set priorities and limits. Experience strongly urges the latter. At least we know what has happened in several programs which had no firm guidance in this matter. Either they are stuck where they happened to start--in the sociology department ("because they had a project ready to start us off") or in public health ("because they had some rooms and equipment we could use"); or--this is very common--they are unrelated to the Law School or university administration even when they profess to do policy research or other applied work; or--this applies to some large programs--their position in the university remains unsettled, shifting about arbitrarily as funding, staffing, or internal needs determine--and resentment against them in the university at large is severe. A few programs seem to be merely tolerated now, and even this may last only as long as they offer massive new resources to other units in the university or to the university at large.

It seems very important therefore for policy makers to insure that the program's position in the university is properly mapped from the beginning and, then, that this position gets firmly established and maintained. And when the position needs to be adjusted, as it will have to be from time to time in the light of experience and of changing opportunities and circumstances in the country, this, too, will need to be done with careful deliberation.

THE THIRD SET: PROGRAM LINKAGES

When the position of the program in the university is clear, it is possible to delineate from this the linkages the program must develop in order to be effective. Position and linkages are directly related: its position distinguishes the program in the university from the rest and linkages are the mechanisms which relate the program to the university and to the outside agencies with which it works. For linkages too, policy makers can develop a useful map, to help keep in view all major sectors of the complex network of relationships which most programs need and also to make strategic policy choices. In fact mapping seems especially important in this case since linkage issues stand out as the most complex and intractable in the experiences of the 25 programs sampled and the most common root of failure. No one major aspect of program building explains more powerfully the many frustrating failures program after program has experienced in attempting to relate more effectively to country needs, to mobilize more resources in the university, and to develop an integrity and distinctive image of its own than inadequate linkages.

In fact, linkage issues seem to affect program leaders everywhere in a manner so complex that they seem unplannable and unmanageable, functions of an unpredictable environment, a matter of chance like roulette. Systematic action on program linkages seems to be very limited; for example, when recruiting the program director, what important relationships does he bring? or when composing a committee what representatives of public agencies can be included who will support the program? Such ad hoc steps work unevenly. Many programs go all out to nurture a very few extremely important linkages: with the vice-chancellor's or rector's office; with, on an average, four powerful departments on campus (usually through their chairmen); with the contract and fiscal offices of the university; and with one or two funding agencies (most programs obtain funds from only one or two). Other linkages are only rarely built into the design of the program or carried through.

Characteristically, attention to linkages beyond these standard matters has two themes, each of far-reaching importance. One is crisis management. A contact has occurred: it "must" be followed up "at once" with a visit or a (funding) proposal. Or, a breakdown or gap in relations looms just ahead: it "must" be repaired "at once." The second theme is the deliberate avoidance of multiplying linkage issues through keeping the program small and traditional. There is much evidence of both themes affecting program development.

Instead, a different stance is possible and, judging by experience in a few UPPs and in analogous endeavors elsewhere, it greatly aids sound program development; it may indeed be essential to it. This approach starts with acknowledging both the complexity and centrality of linkage issues by giving them major sustained attention. In this policy makers have the decisive role. Insuring sufficient capacity for linkage planning and management then also becomes a major criterion for recruiting the program director and senior staff for the program and for developing their competencies in this direction. Three important steps can be identified beyond this. One is to count hardheadedly the cost of every diversification and expansion of the program. It is high, since the number of potential linkages increases exponentially as the program expands and diversifies. A taut pattern of linkages reflects just three considerations: (1) how broad is the program's range of activities? (2) how centralized is its organization? and (3) how autonomous is the program vis a vis the university and the external environment? These questions are of course interrelated.

Another step, required when the program expands and linkages multiply, is to attend not to individual linkages but to linkages in sets and *networks*. This shift has the additional advantage of surfacing conflicts *between* linkages and this is very important. Major examples are conflicting demands made on program staff by outside agencies on one hand and by the university on the other, or by international contacts and by local agencies. The current confusions and anxieties around linkage issues seem to stem in large part from the forelorn attempt to deal with linkages one by one.

A third useful step is to classify the linkages and sets so that they are manageable. Three considerations are good guides for this:

1. Who depends on whom? This determines the degrees of freedom in a relationship, such as between program and university.

2. What is the linkage network for? For example, is its purpose gaining approval for the program or carrying out a collaborative piece of research?

3. Where is it? Is it inside or outside the university or straddling both?

This classification yields a three-dimensional matrix with many cells. Instead of attempting here to complete this matrix and discussing it all at once, we will focus attention on the three key dimensions in turn and interlink these through concrete examples from existing programs.

Box 2.5 shows the pattern of linkages for a UPP in Asia simplified into categories of organizations to which the program relates. (For a program's own working purposes, it is important to map the pattern of linkages in detail so that it identifies each part of the "task environment." For linkages differ in purpose and quality, interrelate, and compete; and some linkages are indirect, involving third parties, perhaps linkage with a government minister or provincial governor may be through the rector.)

Autonomy Versus Dependency: How Many Degrees of Freedom

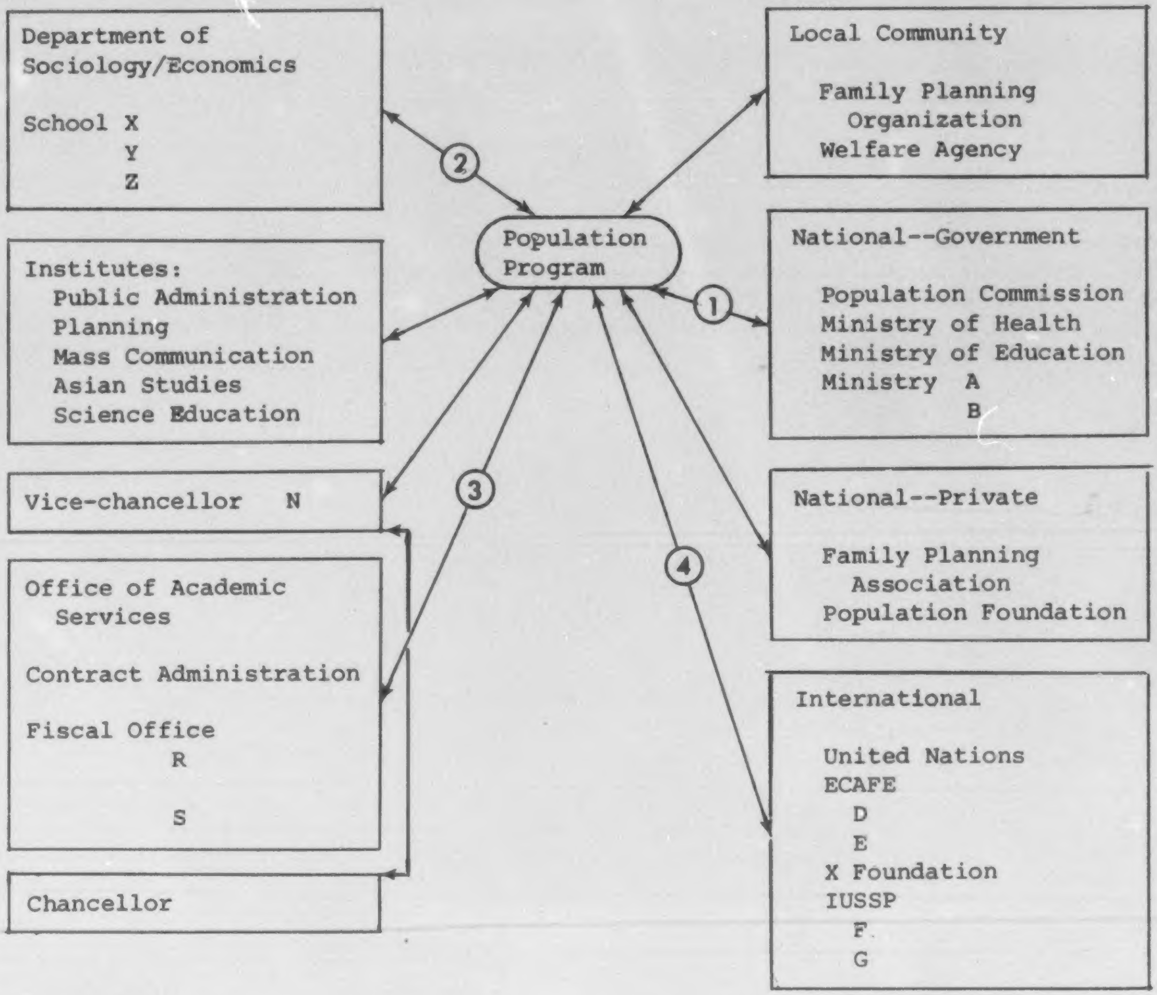
A good first cut at the task is to ask how free the program is, in fact, to design and manage a particular linkage, a set of linkages, or the pattern as a whole. After all, each linkage has at least two ends. What is the relative power of the two (or more) organizations? Or, in other words, who depends on whom?

Three notions seem to be keys here: interdependence, conflict, and coordination. Any linkage assumes interdependence of *some* kind. But it is useful to identify which kind predominates. Three kinds of interdependence are common in population programs: (1) pooled interdependence--this exists when the program "pools" the work of several departments and schools which collaborate little with each other; (2) sequential interdependence, such as the program depending on government funds to provide a service to a third party, a community; and (3) reciprocal interdependence, for example, when the program and a department recruit and appoint a researcher jointly. Each type of interdependence is associated with characteristic conflicts and methods of coordination. Box 2.6 sets these out.

Conflicts are bound to occur between autonomous units developing something. It is more accurate and useful to think of conflict that way than as someone's failure or as unexpected crisis, and it suggests different lines of action. Successful strategies rely on developing tolerances for conflict, keeping conflicts within manageable bounds, and resolving directly any conflicts which exceed these bounds. (Relationships break apart when conflicts are seen instead as high points of failure.)

The program's ability to coordinate is of course closely related to the authority and power invested in it by the university. For instance, if the program is to coordinate a pooled effort among units within the university, focusing their independent outputs on the concerns of outside agencies, then it must be given the managerial authority to attempt to standardize the appropriate interactions and procedures.

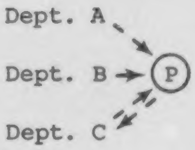
Box 2.5. A TYPICAL PATTERN OF LINKAGES (BY CATEGORIES)


Department of Sociology/Economics
School X
Y
Z
Institutes:
Public Administration
Planning
Mass Communication
Asian Studies
Science Education
Vice-chancellor N
Office of Academic Services
Contract Administration
Fiscal Office
R
S
Chancellor
Population Program
②
③
④
①
Local Community
Family Planning Organization
Welfare Agency
National--Government
Population Commission
Ministry of Health
Ministry of Education
Ministry A
B
National--Private
Family Planning Association
Population Foundation
International
United Nations
ECAFE
D
E
X Foundation
IUSSP
F
G

(Numbers refer to problem areas, in order of difficulty.)

SOURCE: UPP Study, 1972

Box 2.6. TYPES OF INTERDEPENDENCIES, CONFLICTS, AND METHODS OF COORDINATION

Type of interdependency	Diagrammatic representation	Characteristic conflict	Coordination method
Pooled		Separate contacts, conflict, e.g., secret allocations of program funds	Direct contact between contributing departments Joint meetings
Sequential	X- → Ⓟ - → Z	X- → P Out of phase with P- → Z	Planning: managing the two (or more) relationships as one set
Reciprocal	Dept. ← → P	Self-closure; exclusion of others	Mutual adjustment

Linkages for Different Purposes

A typical pattern of linkages for a population program includes linkages for quite different purposes, and it is valuable to distinguish among them. Box 2.7 reproduces "the typical pattern" mapped earlier (Box 2.4), but the arrows now denote major linkages.

"Enabling" linkages provide the program with legitimate authority to start and operate and give it access to the funds and other resources it needs. A useful rule of thumb is that the network of enabling linkages for legitimization, its inclusiveness and strength, needs to vary directly with the degree to which the program is supposed to innovate. A second rule of thumb is to guard the UPP against the temptation to take legitimization and its maintainance too lightly, particularly after the program is under way and other concerns crowd in.

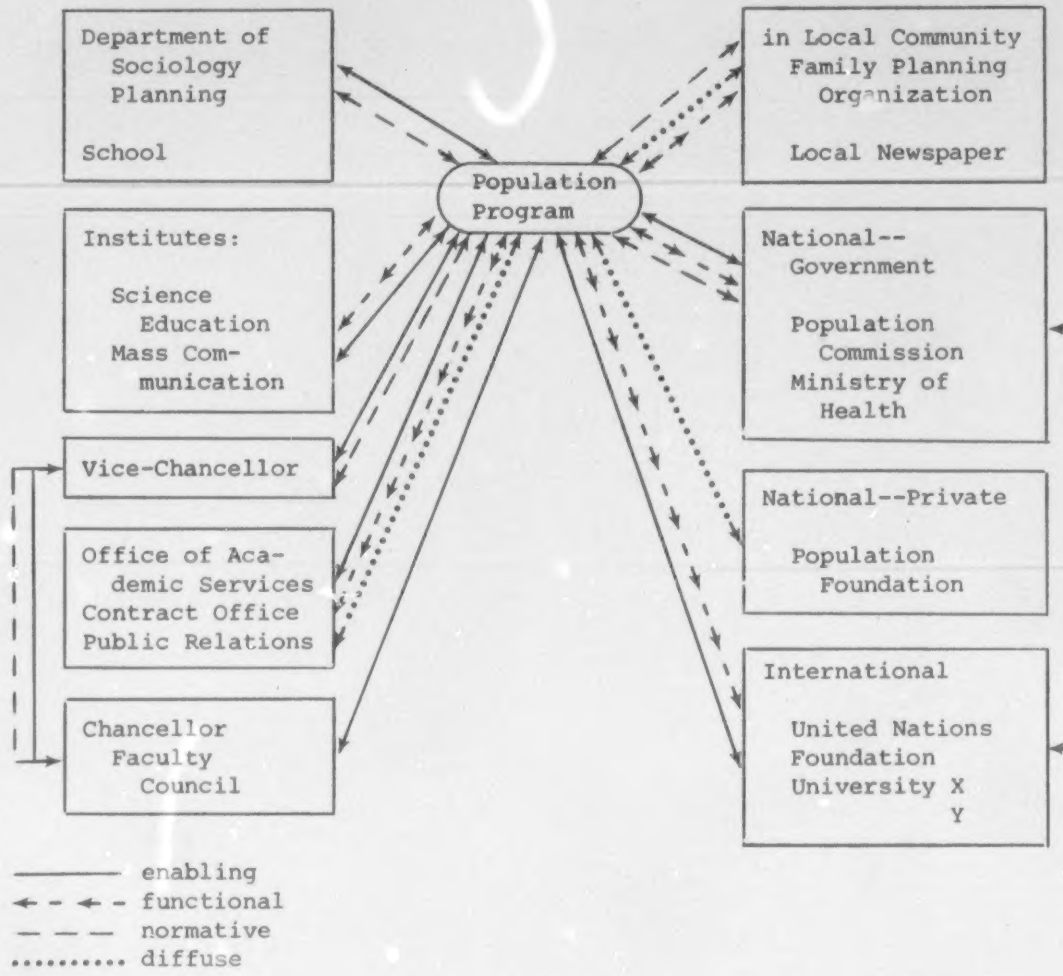
"Functional" linkages are the most obvious of the set: through these flow the program's inputs and outputs.

"Normative" linkages have to do with establishing standards. A program's style of operations and its public image become known and also influenced through these linkages.

"Diffuse" linkages connect the program with the university at large and the general public through contacts among faculty and students, and with newspapers and other media.

Most programs so far show very incomplete and unbalanced linkage patterns. Functional linkages predominate, followed by enabling linkages, mostly for securing resources. Enabling linkages for legitimization exist, but sparingly; and normative and diffuse linkages are virtually ignored. Instability and curtailment of mission can be traced to this weakness in many cases.

Box 2.7. TYPICAL PATTERN OF LINKAGES FOR DIFFERENT PURPOSES


Department of Sociology Planning
School
Population Program
in Local Community Family Planning Organization
Local Newspaper
Institutes:
Science Education
Mass Communication
National--Government
Population Commission
Ministry of Health
Vice-Chancellor
National--Private
Population Foundation
Office of Academic Services
Contract Office
Public Relations
International
United Nations
Foundation
University X
Y
Chancellor
Faculty Council
enabling
functional
normative
diffuse

SOURCE: UPP Study, 1972.

Another characteristic weakness is to make a few linkages serve many purposes, leading both to overload and to confusion and conflict. Even increasing the number of linkages is a better solution. It also avoids the risks of having all the eggs in the same basket, which is especially important wherever conditions in the university, in the country, or in funding agencies are highly uncertain, as is common.

Linkages for Different Positions of the Program in the University

The program's own position, the composite derived from working out the six dimensions discussed earlier (pp. 53-55), has major and often lasting influence on its total network of linkages. So also do the positions of the people and organizations with which the program is linked, inside and outside the university. The balance between inside and outside linkages is a particularly important issue for policy makers to determine.

Program Linkages Within the University. Program linkages with departments and schools are by all accounts the set most full of problems and anxieties. When, for instance, program directors reflect, long after the event, that they were "captured" by the department in which they were initially located, this refers to linkages: physical proximity made contacts with colleagues, students and administrators, and service staffs easy *within* the department, and the program failed to establish its autonomy enough to develop distinctive linkage networks of its own. (In no case that we know of has a program attached to the office of the vice-chancellor or rector had a similar limitation.)

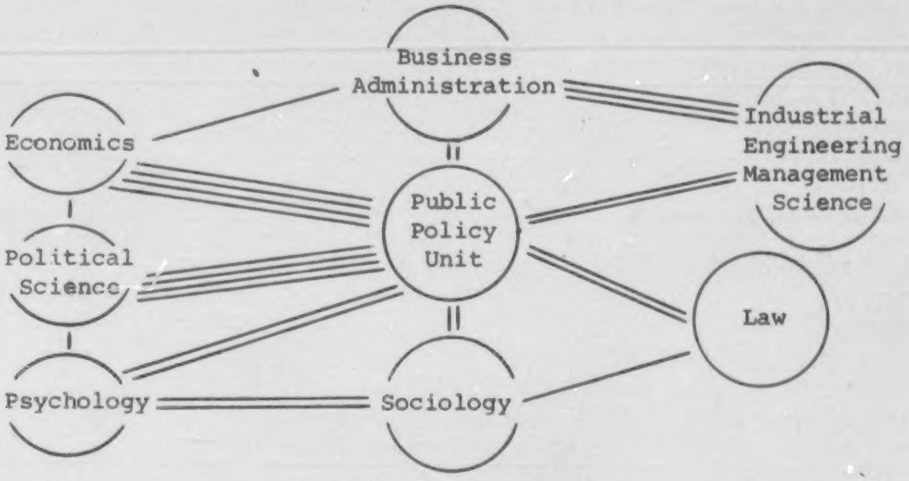
Regardless of which dimension for positioning the program we consider, no program director among our 25 rated their linkages with departments and schools as more than "good," and many rated them "could not be worse," the lowest point on a 7-point scale. No particular departments stand out; the difficulty is basic. It is rooted in the larger career objectives of individual faculty members, the existing patterns of decision making in the university and in funding agencies, and the sheer scarcity of program leaders who are clear enough and strong enough to both engage departments and also maintain the autonomy of the program at one time, across all the conflicts which are bound to occur. In Box 2.8 the director of an interdisciplinary program of policy studies presents these issues more fully.

Box 2.8. LINKAGE ISSUES WITH DEPARTMENTS AND SCHOOLS

Because the larger career objectives of individual faculty are organized around disciplines . . . pressures will always exist for close ties with a man's home discipline. [This is so] even in organizations with no formal affiliations with a discipline. . . . Two brief examples will illustrate my point. The first concerns a school embedded in a university with no social science departments. Although for the first two decades of its existence it maintained a unique and excellent reputation for highly quantitative, interdisciplinary research involving the social and emerging management sciences, its more recent history shows a gravitation in fact, but not in form, toward a departmental structure, with economics, management science, and social psychology being the "departments." Throughout its existence this school has experienced an unusually high turnover among its faculty, partly attributable, I think, to a reluctance among many to being "cut off" from their discipline for too long. The second example involves a large interdisciplinary social science school in a new university with an explicit policy against disciplinary departments. Pressures emerged very soon after its founding, especially among the younger faculty, for disciplinary committees or the like. . . .

The kind of academic we want for membership in the policy unit is someone good in his discipline who also has public policy and interdisciplinary concerns. . . . Whether disciplinary approval is explicit in the form of a joint appointment or implicit is of much less importance than the approval itself in some form. The costs to the policy unit are a loss in autonomy, continual pressures on faculty to be strictly disciplinary, and in the case of joint appointments a danger of losing the man's commitment to the disciplinary unit. The benefits, aside from the internal, bureaucratic ones associated with a good working relationship, relate to the quality control functions the disciplines perform with respect to both initial appointments and research. The benefits to the disciplinary unit derive from the increased options available to faculty members, making possible a better fit of a faculty member's activites to his interests (faculty morale) and the ability to recruit more and/or better disciplinary personnel than would otherwise be possible. Recognition of the mutual benefits of cooperation, if they exist in specific cases, should form the basis of the relationship between the public policy studies unit and disciplinary units. . . .

If the disciplines are hostile or even neutral toward the mission or activities of a public policy unit, that unit will become or remain a second class citizen in the university community. In establishing and maintaining an interdisciplinary unit the fundamental determinant of long-run viability is a structure of supportive relationships with disciplinary units.



Necessary interrelationships for public policy unit

> Establishing and maintaining such relationships is a task of some magnitude. Consider the sociogram in the above figure. The number of lines connecting two units might represent the numbers of faculty with joint appointments and hence the strength of association. The task of the public policy unit is no less than continuous, simultaneous maintenance of all the supporting relationships. In the somewhat oversimplified diagram, there are seven units intimately involved in the unit's activities. If satisfactory relations with all units are vital for a well-balanced program, it is clear that the chances of something going wrong are high.
>
> J. C. Crecine, 1971:21-22.

Linkage issues within the university multiply as programs get larger and diversify. It may be useful therefore to identify linkage issues for population programs of different types. This is done in Appendix B for two types, the simplest (within-disciplinary department programs) and the most complex (large scale service programs), leaving the reader to fill in intermediate types if he wishes.

Program Linkages with Outside Agencies and Issues of Balance. All 25 programs, including all types, list linkages with people and agencies outside the university: professional associations, community agencies, funding agencies and clients (at least in the sense of recipeints for program information). The linkages multiply in number and diversity for programs strong on services, and it is with them that issues concerning outside linkages arise most sharply.

Policy makers can anticipate characteristic issues and set firm guidelines to contain these issues within manageable limits. Overenthusiastic acceptance of funds for project work, for instance, has led several programs to depend heavily on one or at most two powerful clients, usually in the government, or, to avoid this, to multiply work contacts, and then to have to deal with competition for faculty time and facilities. Drift in either direction limits the program's control over its affairs and can play havoc with essential linkages in the university. Policies limiting program expansion to proportionate growth in assured long-term funding safeguard against this. Assured of basic funds, programs are freer to choose the agencies they want to relate to, those having missions and styles of working close to their own; and several UPPs have also been able to influence those missions to enlarge the area of similarity.

Two more lessons can be gleaned with some certainty from the experiences of strongly field-oriented programs. One is their tendency to isolation inside the university even when funding is safely in hand. Directors of programs of this type rate the quality of their external linkages higher than that of internal ones, and whatever the reasons for this, some self-reinforcing tendencies are clearly at work here. These programs prefer to expand quickly in response to outside opportunities, but usually find this is possible only if they recruit their own staffs, and develop with only minimal reference to departments or schools. Then later they have difficulty securing permanent university positions for this staff, and this in turn soon affects their ability to attract and hold staff. Another characteristic difficulty these programs have is with initiating and following through basic long-term projects of their own when they are so busy *responding* to the pressing needs of outside agencies.

The two sets of relationships, outside and inside the university, therefore require wise, careful balancing in terms of actual work and working contacts as well as of funding. The second lesson, then, is simply that these considerations deserve to be high on the policy makers' agenda.

Complicated trade-offs are involved, such as access to policy makers and agencies and close familiarity with national issues at the cost of some loss of autonomy on the part of the program; participation, perhaps pioneering, in field experiments at the cost of involving the university in controversial issues, for instance, abortion; close association with, perhaps anticipation of, shifts in the national program at the cost of the strains of adjusting program organization and linkages. These are all part of the opportunities and costs of placing the population program in the middle, between public agencies and the rest of the university. Without strong policy guidance programs tend to spill into any vacuum they encounter, to overextend and unbalance. Instead, policy makers can insure that a strong outward orientation on the part of the program is counterbalanced by strengthening the linkage network within the university, so that this same orientation, which would otherwise be damaging, can benefit the whole university as well as national development.

This section has been full of complex considerations which affect the position of the program in the university. It is essential to involve important others from inside and outside the university in working these out, and linkages are the means for this.

Some Linkage Mechanisms

Below are some examples of linkage mechanisms which some programs have found useful.

Statements of University Policy Regarding the Population Program. Explicit policy statements can very usefully define the position of the program in the university. While such a definition ties the program down, these same limits also define its area of freedom, its autonomy. This is the program's "space," within which it can experiment and prove itself.

Box 2.9 reproduces the policy one academically-oriented U.S. university has for all its centers and institutes.

Policy Board, Council, or Committee, at Top Level to Bring Together Representatives From Major Outside Agencies to Which the Program is Related and From the University. If such a body is carefully constituted, its very creation signals the interest of the university to engage in population as a national issue and builds a useful public image and relationships for the program. In some UPPs this type of board sets priorities for program development, addresses linkage issues (such as arise in pooled interdependence), and selects the program director.

Box 2.10 shows the composition of three high level bodies of this type.

Box 2.9. UNIVERSITY POLICIES GOVERNING INTERDISCIPLINARY PROGRAMS: A CASE

1. No interdisciplinary program should be undertaken unless it will clearly strengthen the academic standing of the University. This implies that it should contain a clearly identifiable program of instruction, training, and research. These programs may well have components of service to the surrounding locality, the region, the nation, or the world. This is, of course, all to the good, providing that the instruction and research components are clearly visible.

2. All such programs should be under the direction of a person who is both interested in the interdisciplinary area and an established scholar in at least one of the relevant disciplines.

3. Such programs should be conducted with the assistance of an advisory committee representing the disciplines which are relevant to the program under consideration.

4. No person should be named to the staff of an interdisciplinary program unless he is competent in one of the relevant disciplines and has been appointed in consultation with the department or school in which that discipline is principally represented on the campus.

5. Programs of instruction for students in interdisciplinary concerns should assure that each student is thoroughly grounded in at least one of the participating disciplines.

6. Such programs should generally be supported with external funds. In some cases it may be appropriate to have a small core of University support. This support should be committed for a limited term--say, five years--and then carefully reviewed before the program is extended. . . .

The ongoing planning committee, in cooperation with the divisional councils and the academic administration should review each existing interdisciplinary program. They should examine the implication of each program for the limited number of faculty positions in each Department or School, and make recommendations as to which activities will contribute most to the academic strengths of the University. As to new interdisciplinary programs, the ongoing planning committee should be involved at the appropriate time in the process of deliberation so the proposed program can be integrated with the overall plans of the University.

University Planning Committee, Duke University, 1972:54-55.

Box 2.10. THREE KINDS OF JOINT POLICY BODIES

1. The *Advisory Board* of a health-oriented program in Asia, and the types of linkages each member represents:

Rector of University	enabling, normative
Dean, School of Public Health	enabling, normative
Dean, Ob-Gyn, University Hospital	functional (client), normative
Department Chairman, Medical School, University X	functional (collaborative), normative
National Statistical Office	enabling (resource), functional (collaborative)
Demographic Advisor, U.N.	enabling (resource), functional (client)
Representative, international funding agency	enabling (resource)
Professor of Social Planning, Regional Institute	functional (client)
Program Director	

2. The *Executive Council* of a joint public agency-university program in Asia:

Chancellor of X University

Official in charge of National Family Planning Program, Ministry of Health

Governor-General, X Province

Director, Population Program

3. *Board of Directors* of program in Latin America:

Rector of University

Four or more representatives of faculties: Arts and Sciences, Health Administration, and Education

National Population Committee

UPP Study, 1972.

Within-University Governance. Two types of bodies to govern population programs are common within universities. One is an advisory or executive board made up of heads of the major departments and schools in the program's linkage network. The name for this type of body varies. In all cases we know of the board either has power--its "advice" is in fact "executed"--or it disintegrates--members stay away or send substitutes to less and less frequent meetings.

The alternative, a strong university policy board, has been created by some universities precisely for recapturing program governance when a lesser body had faded away. These second-generation policy boards are characterized by ex-officio membership and formality.

Committees and boards of the first type are common, so no example seems required. Box 2.11 shows the constitution of a policy board of the latter type, at a U.S. university.

Box 2.11. COMPOSITION OF A SECOND-GENERATION POLICY BOARD (UNITED STATES)

Provost of University

Six Deans: Graduate School, Arts and Sciences, School of Public Health, School of Medicine, Social Work, Research Administration

Vice-Chancellor of Health Sciences--Chairman

Director of Population Center

Interested senior faculty: Professors of Pathology, Sociology, Environmental Sciences, and Engineering

UPP Study, 1972.

Another incipient form of university organization for a program is a university-wide "council" for population. This is one of a set of councils in the university, each focused on a critical national or worldwide concern; urban affairs and ecology are other such concerns. The council provides the university with an overarching structure which encompasses any center as well as all departments and schools engaged in the population program. The council's function is to focus the resources of all units and to manage for all of them together the linkages outside the university. The council has a dean who reports directly to the university president.

Joint Appointments. The simplicity and obvious good sense of this mechanism is deceptive. Joint appointments by population programs and departments are difficult to manage even in universities where they work well between departments. Unequal or uncertain autonomy is the reason. There joint appointments have been imposed instead of negotiated between equal partners, say, from the chancellor's office, conflicts have been only temporarily submerged.

Since even under the most favorable circumstances a new program is unlikely to be as strong as a well-established department, alternatives to joint appointments hold more promise. Two are available to departments and schools: (1) transferring departmental faculty to the program full time but for a limited period, perhaps for the duration of a project; (2) accepting funds from the program for a defined product, such as a course or a piece of population research. Programs can take a similarly independent stand. One policy states: "Members [of the program] *will not have joint appointments* in other parts of the institution. This will not rule out members working with other groups in the institution, nor faculty members working on tasks in the program, but will prohibit people from having dual or multiple membership affiliation."

Courtesy and adjunct appointments of program staff to departments do not usually provide effective linkages.

Box 2.12 reproduces extracts from a policy statement about joint appointments in a U.S. program with substantial government funding.

Box 2.12. POLICY REGARDING JOINT FACULTY APPOINTMENTS IN A U.S. UNIVERSITY

It is the policy of the Institute to appoint staff members on a long-term basis only if they are also appointed in one of the regular departments of the University. The Institute per se does not offer tenure to its staff members. The Institutes does recruit staff on a short-term basis, for either the summer months or an academic year, and such staff may or may not receive joint appointments with one of the regular departments. At the junior level, research assistants and associates are generally students pursuing a graduate degree in one of the departments at the University.

Faced with the inevitable choice between, say, an excellent candidate who is likely to either duplicate someone else or serve a lower priority interest and another candidate whose talents seem rather pedestrian, but whose research promises to be more on a high priority target, then the former would be chosen.

Institute for Research on Poverty,
University of Wisconsin, 1970:1.

Exchanges of Program Faculty and Agency Policy Makers and Administrators. In training- and service-oriented programs, it is useful to have a free-flowing exchange with practitioners in the field. A small but growing number of programs provide for this. They are in countries whose public officials as well as university faculty have traditionally been drawn from the intellectual elite, so that the two groups have much in common. The values of such exchanges to program image, to faculty perceptions of policy and action issues, and to developing effective program linkages, are obvious. But the costs are also high. Exchanges involve disturbances of many kinds, personal as well as organizational, and participants often remain isolated from the collegiality they came to experience. Careful planning and management, on a small scale, and continuity of effort over three or more years characterize succussful arrangements. Some programs are struggling hard to put such exchanges on a regular rotational basis for key faculty, showing that they see enough benefit arising from them to more than offset the costs.

Benefits seem to outweigh costs most frequently in two kinds of arrangements: (1) internships for faculty members and senior students in agencies where actual problem solving, social innovation, policy planning, and program implementation or evaluation go on; and (2) functional integration of the program with one or more client systems, as in coupling family planning research with family planning services.

SUMMARY: DIFFERENTIATION AND INTEGRATION

Though the task of clearly marking the position of the population program in the university presents policy makers with many complex issues, the essential steps can be summarized in 14 points: two about program characteristics, four about marking the program's position in the university, and eight about its linkages.

Program Characteristics

1. It is essential, first, to establish the main characteristics of the population program and to publicize it on that basis: in short, to fix its core. This is so even though population is a new field of work, with unclear outlines and relationships to other fields and beset by pressures and turbulent conditions; perhaps these conditions make establishing the main characteristics of the program early extra important.

2. These main characteristics of the chosen program have *implications* which can be foreseen, mapped, and also made public. Examples are programmatic emphases, the involvements of outside agencies and of departments and schools, and program size. Publicizing this total vision of the UPP encourages expectations of it inside and outside the university, whereas letting expectations develop from particular program starts would be misleading.

3. Strong policies are needed to assure the program *autonomy directly proportional to the degree of difference between its mission and that of the university* (innovation). This is so particularly vis à vis academic departments: top-level support, sufficient funds, and a strong network of linkages, all essential if an innovative program is to relate adequately to established departments and schools, require the backing of strong policies.

4. An extreme view, but one with merit, is that universities are too quick to respond to funding opportunities and too loathe to intervene in the traditional

autonomy of the departments in order to accomplish the objectives of funding. With respect to functional linkages which concern the "products" or services of the program it is therefore especially *important to assiduously avoid the perspective that the program is in business to solve the day-to-day problems of other organizations* in the population field.

5. Long standing funding traditions and governmental arrangements can seriously impede the sound development of a population program. The program needs therefore enough *autonomy to be able to shift linkages with outside agencies* when these prove detrimental. This calls for university commitment sufficient at least to make the positions of key program personnel financially secure.

6. *An important criterion of the effectiveness of a program will be its adaptability* (its capacity to add elements to its basic doctrine in the light of changes in linkages or of new opportunities for linkages).

Program Linkages

7. *Program linkages must be cultivated early in order to establish the legitimacy of the program's doctrine.* This applies in particular to the development of normative relationships which can be called upon later for support when problems arise with resource linkages.

8. *A product orientation to projects and various functional linkages* is critical. This orientation encourages building linkages around the goals of specific projects, each with a beginning and end point, together with precisely defined inputs and outputs. A temporal product orientation thus allows a reassessment of the state of functional linkages upon the completion of particular projects and phases of projects.

9. As a corollary to the second point, it is important to *plan the development of a program so that it can provide for probable changes in linkages which will be needed over time.* For example, several programs have relied on original funding grants from outside agencies so heavily that they have neglected the development of resource linkages to the university. Yet funding out of the regular university budget was essential in time to give the new program full legitimacy and continuity in the university.

10. The above ideas tend to converge on *the general desirability of multiple and redundant linkages* in designing the program. Several sources of legitimization in the enabling sense are useful, and a similar policy should be implemented in the formation of functional, normative, and diffuse linkages. Some redundancy is essential for program maintainance and growth.

11. The search for, and establishment of, commonalities between the program and other academic units is critical. For instance, research-oriented departments and a service-oriented program can be integrated through the common university mission of education. Through searches for realistic commonalities, effective *linkage networks can be developed in which the essential mutual sense of interdependence exists* in the parts and in the whole. This is a very time-consuming activity and is likely to hold back the rate at which the program expands.

12. Third parties have critical roles in many linkage transactions. Examples are the posture of the university administration in transactions between the program and academic departments and the posture of a university grants commission vis à vis linkages between the program and the ministry of health and family planning. As a consequence, *it is strategic for the program to attempt to diagram and understand the entire constellation of relationships* impinging upon current tasks and on any difficulties in them, and to keep this mapping up to date, well-monitored, and influential in future planning.

13. Policy makers need to choose the *organizational form best suited to embody and symbolize the mission of the program.* Choosing a position or organizational form "for a start" has the contrary effect of locking the program in. In this connection, too, it is essential for policy makers to fit the core *and also,* at the same time, communicate an openness to change, such as including additional departments and their interests and/or modifying the organization of the program.

14. Many of the issues in this chapter are best visualized as *inter-organizational issues,* not as primarily personal (revolving around the program director) and not as primarily organizational (of the program, the university, or the government).

CHAPTER THREE CONTENTS

PROGRAM LEADERSHIP 75

Depth of Program Leadership 76
Selecting a Program Director 79
Continuity of Program Leadership Amid Changes 81
    Box 3.1 Phases in the Life of an Institution 82
Summary in Five Points 84

FUNDS 85

    Box 3.2 Funding History of Two Programs 87
Project Funds and Development Funds 88
    Box 3.3 Project Funds and Development Funds: U.S. Program Director's Views (1972) 90
    Box 3.4 List of Funds Required for Different Aspects of Developing a Population Program 91
"Task-Order" Funds and Funds for Independent Work 89
Activities Easier to Fund than Others 91
    Box 3.5 Program Activities and Funding Agencies: Ease (E), Difficulty (D), or Impossibility (I) of Funding 92
University and Outside Funds: Hard and Soft Funds 92
Within-Country Funds and Foreign Funds 93
    Box 3.6 High Risk and Low Risk Flows of Foreign Assistance 95
Program Funds and Department Funds 96
Funds for the University and Funds for the Program 97
    Box 3.7 Funding and Allocation Within the University 98
Institutional Reinvestment 98

SUMMARY 99

3

Program Resources: Men, Money, and a Sense of Humor

The familiar long list of what any new program needs--a director, funds, senior faculty, space, organizational competence, and so on--can for practical purposes be collapsed into two main items: leadership (including senior staff) and outside support (including funds). The first subsumes the important capacities for organizing and running the program and for building its relations outside, with university departments and the administration and with funding sources and public agencies. And funds are essential (even if often not sufficient) for securing faculty time, space, and facilities, such as a library and data processing equipment.

A lively sense of humor is the third resource in the set essential for developing a population program, particularly if it is of the field-oriented interdisciplinary type; so complex is that enterprise and often so unsteady its support, particularly outside the university, that many things can go wrong at any time, and sometimes do.

In dealing with the resource picture, serious confusion seems to arise quickly and commonly at two points. One is the tendency to put funds on top of everything. This error seems almost irresistible when the university, strapped as it is for funds, is acutally offered money to start a population program. But program leadership (director and senior staff) is in fact scarcer even than funds, and by all accounts even more important. A second strategic error is to overload the leadership and to put everything on the director personally. In fact, directors (who mostly come from scholarly disciplines) often start short on important capacities for program building. Once overloaded, they cannot catch up, or when the kind of leadership a program needs changes, as it does, from one major phase to the next, they cannot see it, so that personalizing leadership sets up distressing problems later.

In this chapter, program leadership is considered first and funds second.

PROGRAM LEADERSHIP

Conquerors so easily lose themselves in the discoveries of the new territory; how to reassimilate them to what is already known--that is the job of the second stage.

Professor Emeritus of Human Development,
Harvard University, 1970

The kind of leadership a UPP needs is in the first place determined by the kind of program it is, and in the second, by the phase of development it is in. As an example of the first, programs emphasizing applied work depend on easy give-and-take contacts with public officials and community leaders as well as with colleagues in meetings, over the telephone, through exchanges of working notes and drafts, and so on--in short, a very different set of competencies and working style than characterizes prominent scholarship. If the program is large, or expected to grow large, maintain program boundaries and cohesion, sorting out conflicts and running a taut administration are additional ingredients of leadership. The deliberate sorting out of leadership needs is a far cry from encouraging a pioneer faculty member to build a UPP to his own perceptions and preferences by appointing him program director, from appointing a senior professor because he is well respected on campus, or from expecting an early charismatic leader to guarantee program cohesion and continuity over the long run--all of which have been common.

For policy makers the important issues regarding program leadership seem to arise in three areas: (1) whom to include in program leadership and how deep to build it; (2) where to look for leadership, for the program director in particular, that is, inside or outside the university--the issue of *selection*; (3) how to insure effective leadership across the changing needs of the program at successive phases of its development--the issue of *continuity* and change.

Depth of Program Leadership

The convenient shorthand which equates program leadership--a function--with program director--a person--hides the issue of leadership in depth. Many programs now have directors who are patently overloaded with work yet, at the same time, continue for long periods weak in key areas of program leadership, unclear of mission and structure, short on linkages and policy formation. The electric atmosphere which characterizes some programs is more the product of the unending string of crises which beset them than of highly creative output and satisfaction. Recurring crises are symptoms of leadership that lacks depth. And the answer to this weakness is not to change the director, as some programs have recently done, though that step may finally be necessary too. Organizational leadership is always a combined function of structural factors and the particular characteristics of individuals, and experience strongly suggests that the leadership structure for population programs needs to be deeper than it usually is.

The issue comes up in three ways:

Initially Depth of Leadership Is There; the Problem Is to Maintain It. In eight programs out of our 25, leadership in depth was present before a director was appointed. One or more faculty committees had first studied the conditions and possibilities for a population program, had reported to the university's administration and governing bodies, such as the faculty council, and had then been asked to constitute at least the nucleus of a permanent policy board, advisory committee, or council for the new program. (The make-up of these governing bodies was considered in chapter 2. Boxes 2.10 and 2.11 showed some examples.)

A later scenario commonly runs like this: these programs (without exception) went outside the university for their director, and the incoming director then asserted himself against the committee and its strong leadership. How he did this is instructive: he crowded them out. Taking charge of the committee's timetable and agenda, he insured that it met infrequently, waited for his initiative, and to put forward his ideas and plans, and presently ceased meeting at all.

The alternative is to get clear and into the open the functions of the committee and of the director, and the relations between them. The clarification needs to be public, so that the program from early on communicates a sense of sureness and good order. Staff and outsiders know where to send information and whom to ask questions and to involve in taking decisions in various matters. Programs which fail to do something like this have either lost important members from the initial leadership group, and in the process cut themselves off from major parts of the university, or became highly disorganized because "all people deal with everything." Consequently, they also became uncertainly productive and costly.

How Much Can One Man Do? Leadership in depth immediately suggests quantitative considerations: there is so much leading to do that several persons need to do it. This condition probably obtains, particularly in field-oriented programs. But quantities apart, program leadership also has to perform various functions and some of these do not combine well. Only where the issue of the range and variety of leadership functions is faced and resolved can policy makers be assured that one or more of them will not drop out of sight and remain long unattended.

The experience of the program mentioned above strongly suggests that some functions did drop out there. Before the director came, the committee had gone beyond its mandate in some respects and stopped short of it in others. Its mandate was to "work up a design . . . , secure funds, and find a director and other initial staff." It had exceeded its mandate when it invited and funded projects and tried itself to fund some initial program activities. But it had stopped short in regard to program design, settling policy issues, and clarifying relationships and linkages in this program. When he arrived, the director assumed the activities and funding functions in short order but, as later data show, he never did make up the work the committee itself had missed on design and policy issues. Nor did the committee turn its attention to those functions when the director took over the others. The result was that this program tried for over five years to manage its rapid expansion and diversification ad hoc, piece by piece, until financial crisis and disaffectation with it on campus and in funding agencies provoked the university rector to institute a strong policy board and asked it to rework the program basically. A few months later the director was replaced.

The same issue of identifying and distributing leadership function has come up in several other programs but in different ways. These programs had directors who were strong on policy formation and on structuring but who acted largely on their own, along personal lines to which the program's governing bodies were not committed. These directors were reporting to their committees minimally and the committees fell into abeyance before long. A standoff situation of one kind or another then continued for several years. Eventually the directors needed something from the university, usually additional faculty positions or funds, and at that point the dispute erupted into the open. In several programs, this escalated quickly into a showdown and resulted in changing the director, abolishing his personal policies, and redirecting the program. In countries with strong traditions of personal leadership, excessive reliance on a particular program director and his personal relationships has been common.

These two common sequences raise powerful questions about the function policy makers have in insuring sound program leadership. Taking two different cuts at the issue, it is possible to identify three kinds of functions and two primary orientations which policy makers need to build into the leadership of a program:

1. The first essential leadership function is to bring to bear on UPP development a perspective of the whole process so that adequate attention is paid to policies as well as persons, program content as well as the processes of development, current issues as well as future plans. From this perspective of the program as a whole originate *new policies and structures* when existing ones in the university stand in the way or are inadequate. Since these departures require university support, high level representation needs to be built into program leadership. It seems that this function, of bringing to bear a perspective of the whole, is at once essential and has also been the most difficult to assure. Where it has been missing, programs have retreated to undue emphases either on the methodologies and technologies of population work or on increasingly empty interpersonal relationships.

2. A second leadership function has to do with *supplementing existing arrangements* in the university, through negotiating and compromising but without losing sight of program goals and needs.

3. The third function is *program administration* in line with policies and structures which have already been developed, old or new. This insures effective and efficient use of program resources. So, somewhere in the leadership must also be the capacity to hold things steady and to resist continuous change.

A second way to visualize essential leadership functions divides those oriented to the world outside the UPP--to the rest of the university and country--from functions which focus on factors internal to the program. It is usually assumed that the one program director can do everything needed in both directions, with an administrative deputy or assistant (at much lower status and pay) helping if the work becomes too much. In fact, the development and maintenance of external relationships which are crucially important to field-oriented and interdisciplinary UPPs, and also those relying heavily on outside funds, may take up so much of the director's time that he cannot also give the required attention to developing the program's activities, pulling together newly assembled faculty and staff, and working out issues of internal structure and operations. Some programs have, therefore, found it is better to pair the director up with a high level deputy, so that one looks primarily after functions oriented outward and the other after internal functions. Dividing the functions along these lines seems to be particularly useful in countries where the political environment is subject to sharp changes, funds are uncertain, and population work is new.

Ideally, then, program leadership would include:

1. Persons who bring to bear on population issues major substantive and methodological expertise from different fields, and who can share with one another enough to take joint decisions on the contents of the program.

2. Persons who can keep the whole system in view, develop new policies and structures where necessary or work within existing university arrangements with

minimal modifications, and deal with external and internal relationships--as many of them as may be needed.

3. Persons who can shift their functions flexibly as various aspects of leadership require extra attention from time to time or more permanently as leadership needs change in successive phases of developing the program (see sectic . 3 below, pp. 81-84).

Selecting a Program Director

It would be a mistake to see the preceding section, with its stress on program leadership in depth, as detracting from the important role of the program director. On the contrary, leadership is depth clarifies the program director's key role and supports it.

The program director more than anyone else stands for the UPP represents it to the university and to the outside world, fights its battles. More consistently than anyone else he brings to bear his appreciation of the program as a whole, in this particular university, at this time, and with an eye to the future. He integrates the pieces. His style is more influential than anyone else's on the formality or informality of program structures and on the speed of decision making. So, selecting this key person is indeed important.

Across the many differences between countries, universities, and directors it seems to make a great deal of difference whether the director is chosen from inside the university (two-thirds of our programs) or from outside. Across differences in country situation, universities, and persons, certain tendencies stand out which may help policy makers choose.

Inside Directors. Program directors from within the university bring continuity. They are known, and know their way about. A practical advantage is that they can phase into the new position as the work grows and as more funds become available.

The disadvantages stem most of all from the fact that they come from a disciplinary base (invariably so in our sample). Most are demographers, the rest physicians interested in public health; and these disciplinary bases are anchored in a separate department or school. The preferences and limitations of the director's discipline have tended to become the program's too, unless special steps were taken to avoid this. The key step has been to insure strong representation in leadership groups from other disciplines. In fact results seem best where the leadership group, excluding the director, represents all important disciplines, so that he need neither claim nor disclaim his particular allegiances.

But in most programs the problem has been too complex to be solved by careful composition. Invariably, it seems, directors who originally took the lead in developing population work in their discipline become enmeshed in dilemmas around *workload and work style* and these seriously hamstring their functioning as program director. Regarding workload, these directors, in an attempt to insure their continued good standing in their own discipline, tended to feel an extra strong urge to contribute to their field, but the demands of the broader program crowded this out, every time. The pressure grew as they strained, quite unrealistically, to satisfy both needs side by side. There are program directors who periodically travel half way around the world for a few weeks' concentrated work on research data which they have accumulated at home but have not analyzed or written up for months or even years.

Where personal style is concerned, directors selected from inside the university have been more experienced in working directly with a few colleagues, in well-defined roles and with elementary administrative procedures, than in working indirectly with the larger number which broad programs bring together, programs which have more open roles and complex procedures. Most have exhausted themselves, often unproductively, trying to make their accustomed style suffice in the larger setting. This style simply does not produce the more complex linkages and organizational and administrative decisions on which larger programs depend. The dilemma is compounded for founder-directors of programs who, having initiated population work first in the university years before, are then determined that the new program succeed with themselves at the head. Where they have insisted on carrying on as before, they have been forced out after personal hurt to themselves and others in the university and in some cases damage to the program. Postponing the issue only made it more difficult. For instance, one founder-director left only after a drawn-out fight and then took "his" department with him, namely the very one that was central to population work at that university, that had the great expertise and long experience.

As a general rule, originators of population activities in universities do not do well as directors of an interdisciplinary field-oriented program. It is important to involve them in developing the new UPP, maybe strategically so, but in capacities other than program director; secretary of the governing or policy board is a possibility. Four steps may help. One is to build into the program from the start strong respect and support for work in key disciplines. Second, the obvious but discipline-oriented candidate for the directorship can be helped to consider what would be involved for him in directing the broader program proposed, given its different needs; he may not want the position if it involves unattractive changes in his accustomed orientation and style and in foregoing much scholarship of his own. Third, having come this far, some such candidates have been willing to be included in the search for program director. And fourth, it is well if one of his projects can be included early among the activities supported by the program.

Outside Directors. Program directors from outside the university bring a different set of strengths and weaknesses, virtually the opposite set in fact if they come from government service or from long experience overseas. These candidates bring a strong field-orientation and close contacts with operating and funding agencies into the UPP and, typically, they are good at originating new structures for the program. Several such had been in charge of large staffs and budgets and were therefore experienced in program administration.

Along with these strengths come weaknesses: (1) unfamiliarity, often impatience, with the power structure in the university and with ways of involving its key people in program leadership; (2) an inclination to go it alone; and (3) difficulty in gaining acceptance as a full academic colleague because of their strong field-orientation and the lesser respect academia usually shows for applied work. These directors had done little academic work in recent years and some had not published a paper for a long time, maybe never; several had no advanced degree.

No program in this study had an expatriate director, even for a short period, but one had requested a foreign scholar to take the position "for a start," in the belief that he was needed to bridge the division in that university between the medical and the social sciences. (It turned out not to be so: there *was* a candidate in the university acceptable to all and he was appointed when the foreigner turned the offer down.) Only in the case of a disciplinary program, such as demography, does it seem possible that the advantages a foreign scholar may bring, such as an established reputation in the field, access to international agencies, and possibly some experience with UPP development, might outweigh the disadvantages of being so distant an outsider and temporary and of postponing so crucial a commitment as selecting a program director. This does not preclude useful consulting roles for an expatriate, but that is different.

What the various experiences to date show most clearly is that the choice of program director is a crucially important step. Preparing for it can be an important occasion for reviewing, first, the strengths and weaknesses of the university's commitment to the new program and to its mission in the world outside, and second, the likely strengths and weaknesses of the rest of the program's leadership, as a whole. Many adjustments are quite possible if this is done systematically. Whichever way the choice goes, the total leadership can be put together to balance what this or that director brings to it.

Continuity of Program Leadership Amid Change

The central issue of continuity of program leadership is deeper than the day-to-day uncertainties which surround universities in most countries and the difficulties of insuring continuity under these conditions. Fundamentally it lies in the changing kinds of leadership programs need at different phases of their development, that is, in changes inherent in the development process itself. And--this is the problem--indications are strong that directors who are good at one phase are often not good at the other, and in fact are quite likely after some time to become blind or otherwise resistant to the need for a new kind of leadership. In this, population programs in universities are quite similar to programs in other fields and other settings.

First in a new program is a "pioneering" phase. This is followed by a "settling-in" phase. A third phase emphasizes program expansion. Few population programs are old enough to be beyond the third phase. Meanwhile, some have expanded rapidly without every really getting settled in and work in an atmosphere of continuous crisis; for example, some are considering separating from their universities altogether, others are in danger of collapsing. If the dynamics of population programs continue in line with other classic patterns, some more phases can be expected to follow, each having characteristic features, dilemmas, and possible resolutions. One general schema is set out in Box 3.1.

Phase One--Pioneering. The first two phases, which many programs have already experienced, both call for highly creative leadership but of different kinds and toward different purposes. The task for leadership in the *first phase* is essentially twofold: (1) to make the assertion stick that present population activities in various parts of the university do not do justice to the problem, intellectually

Box 3.1. PHASES IN THE LIFE OF AN INSTITUTION

Crisis	*Characteristic features*	*Dilemma*	*Resolution*
Birth	A few individuals full of ideas and zest. Frenzied activity. Attention oriented outward--power points, sister institutions, customers.	When should the institution be born and how large? Planning for every contingency or have a crash program?	Strong continuing leadership.
Identity Seeking identity	Search for main focus or foci. Conflict and uncertainty. Internal competition for attention	Perfection of one thing or value on all comers?	Clearly explicit long-range objectives as a priority system for decision making.
Seeking acceptance	Search for relationships with existing systems. Interorganizational jealousies. Attention outward.	Stress likeness and conformity or novelty and differences?	Moratorium to establish standards, largely in isolation.
Seeking balance	One or two activities have made a quick start, threaten to dwarf or belittle others. Jealousies within.	Curb fast starters or let them run loose?	Focus on lagging functions to encourage their momentum.
Growth	Great demands for services, mostly short-term. Temptation to take on too much load. Meeting demands increases demands.	Consolidate and develop slowly or expand in all promising directions?	Moratorium to reexamine objectives and priorities. Publicize long-range plans.
Maturity	Success revives interorganizational jealousies, even threatens sponsors. Attacks on autonomy and independence.	Forego identity and submit or revolt and break away?	Develop interdependent relationships focused on tasks.
Development	Self-satisfaction. Temptation to rest on laurels. Reluctance to work out new ideas.	Fossilize or break up into progressive and conservative, young and old?	Check objectives against changing situation, rejuvenate institution, build in indices of relevance.

SOURCE: Lynton and Pareek, 1967:358.

or to meet national needs, so that the new program is indeed needed and (2) to marshall the resources to start.

Those universities which selected the program director from outside have signaled by this their wish for a major new departure. One university for instance, looked for "a leading figure in population, someone already recognized nationally and internationally," implying strong independent leadership which could command respect and support both in the university and outside. To several others in our sample funding agencies offered funds on the condition that programs did just this. Similar advantages, for this first task, have also been realized by some universities which chose directors from inside but with recent advanced degrees from overseas and eager for the opportunity to do something quite new. These characteristics made them, too, attractive to funding agencies.

Programs which tried to avoid a break with the past and either chose as director a scholar honored in his discipline and department or postponed the choice of director by instituting various interim arrangements have all had discouraging experiences. One such dragged on for 12 years on a declining budget and with increasing debt, then ceased operation. Another tried quite unsuccessfully to make do for several years with only part-time direction and faculty, all without additional time or pay.

Effective leadership of field-oriented programs in the first phase has been oriented outward. It has staked out the program's mission in relation to broad needs in the field of population and in the country and distinguished it from the missions of other parts of the university and of institutions working on population outside. People who are good at this often come through to others as difficult to work with. They tend to be drivers, impatient or innocent of obstacles, determined to push ahead and to establish the program quickly. When they encounter difficulties, they go "to the top," in the university or in outside agencies. They attract young faculty who are caught up in the same enthusiasm and impatience to get things done. These directors always have more to do than time allows. Often they "solve" problems by expanding the program.

Phase Two--Settling In. About three years later, judging by several indicators, which will be discussed in the next chapter, the *second phase*--settling the new program in--begins. It is oriented inward, on making activities and procedures more effective and efficient and on working closely with various departments and schools in the university. So it presents tasks for program leadership which contrast sharply with those in the first phase and has a different tone and style. If the first phase was strong on differentiating the program from others, the second is primarily for firming it up inside and integrating it in the university.

Leadership in this phase therefore seeks acceptance for the program. It secures this most of all by establishing standards of work and ways of going about the business which are acceptable in the university. This means new sensitivities to others. Usually it also means saying "no" to further hurried expansion at least until important routines get established.

Across these changing needs, programs have typically achieved continuity of leadership in two ways, and each has its perversion. In a few programs leadership continued to be highly personalized in the director, but he understood the changes and found ways of managing both phases with skill and circumspection. This version has been associated with strong outside support for the program, both of funds and of power, and high formal position for the director in the university. One program director accepted a position in the deans' council of the university--the highest policy-making body--but, with an eye on his contacts with government, insisted that he be there as program *director*, refusing the title of dean. The perversion of this model is leadership atrophy. Some directors have grown weary of battling on into the second phase with the kind of leadership they successfully exercised earlier. They ceased pushing ahead, settling for a program of current size and disposition. These programs lost their distinctive innovative thrusts quickly and now produce disciplinary research and teaching along classic lines, such as demography.

The other way in which programs have achieved continuity of leadership has been through building leadership in depth and so creating the capacity for having different kinds of leadership flexibly available as needs changed. Some, but not all, of the larger programs have gone this route. When highly personalized leadership became impossible, they diversified the leadership group, so that no one had to essay activities and stances for long which he was not good at and which were not his style, and instead turned to other members who had these strengths. But some programs have broken apart over this issue, producing rival leaders instead of diversified leadership.

Paradoxically, fixed-term leadership may be another method of achieving continuity, but no program in our sample has attempted this, even in universities where departments commonly have chairmen for fixed terms. The motivation would, of course, be different. Scholars take turns at chairmanship so that none has to carry the administrative chores and headaches for long. In the case of population programs, the purpose is rather to acknowledge that leadership needs change substantially from time to time; a fixed term would allow a director to express his strengths and style with maximum freedom while he is in the position and also provide regular opportunities for the program and the university to replace him with someone else. The term should not be less than three years and probably not more than five. We know a few university administrators at high level who chose limited terms of office in anticipation of changing leadership needs, but by personal resolution, not by institutional specification. The essence of course is that the term be public and lead to timely selection of a successor. There are various ways of insuring flexibility in this arrangement without losing the central idea.

Summary in Five Points

1. Program leadership, the most important single factor in program development, is always a combined function of structural and personal factors. Therefore, developments in the program call for shifts in leadership which any one person has difficulty encompassing. Leadership in depth is therefore very important, both to do justice to the multiple aspects of developing a population program and to achieve continuity of leadership.

2. Since strong leadership is so important, the selection of a program director is best performed early. Safety lies in the realization that the task of leadership as a whole is beyond the capacity of any one person, and that time needs to be spent in composing carefully the rest of the leadership group.

3. Most important in UPP leadership is the capacity to visualize and deal with the program *as a whole*, and to bring this perspective to bear on current decisions. This awareness is particularly important as a guide to the director himself as he allocates his own time, and to the leadership group as it works out program agenda and priorities. It prevents corruption or diffusion of program goals and the deflection of primary attention to questions of means, whether of UPP administration, issues of technology, or human relations.

4. Even strong leadership can disintegrate and disappear fast. In the program mentioned several times in this chapter, the change from active involvement of the population committee to its demise and the advent instead of personal leadership by the new program director took just six months. To avoid sudden crises, small adjustments in leadership are to be valued highly.

5. Some very important aspects of leadership can be systematically learned and new understandings and skills developed. This possibility deserves exploration for population program leadership.

   Training cannot erase the basic antagonism between differentiation and integration. But, if well designed and conducted, it can relax tension, and it can enable people to understand the reasons behind differences in orientations and behavior and thereby legitimize and maintain them; acquire skills in confronting differences and conflicts; and systematically explore aspects of program planning and structural designs which facilitate collaborative leadership.

FUNDS

University institutes are operating in, or close to, financial crisis. . . . The W_____ Institute is now financed on a year-to-year basis.

U.S. Government Review, 1970

Congress enacts a new piece of legislation and a new center gets created which focuses on that piece of legislation.

U.S. Social Science Research Council, 1967

Federal assistance in the past has proved to fluctuate widely and unpredictably and thus to strain the capacity of the University to plan and to meet commitments to students and faculty. The painful readjustments of the School of Education are but the aftermath of a sudden shift in federal priorities after a short-lived period of largess in the sixties.

President, Harvard University, 1971

Funds, like mates, are a universal need. But the need comes up so differently, and meeting it offers so many opportunities for confusion, that it seems best here to stick extra closely to the experiences of the particular 25 population programs in this study and to what just they can tell us. These programs vary widely in their funding--in total amounts (equivalent to U.S. $15,000 to over $5 million per year) and kinds of funding, who secures funds and from what sources, and for what purposes they spend their funds.

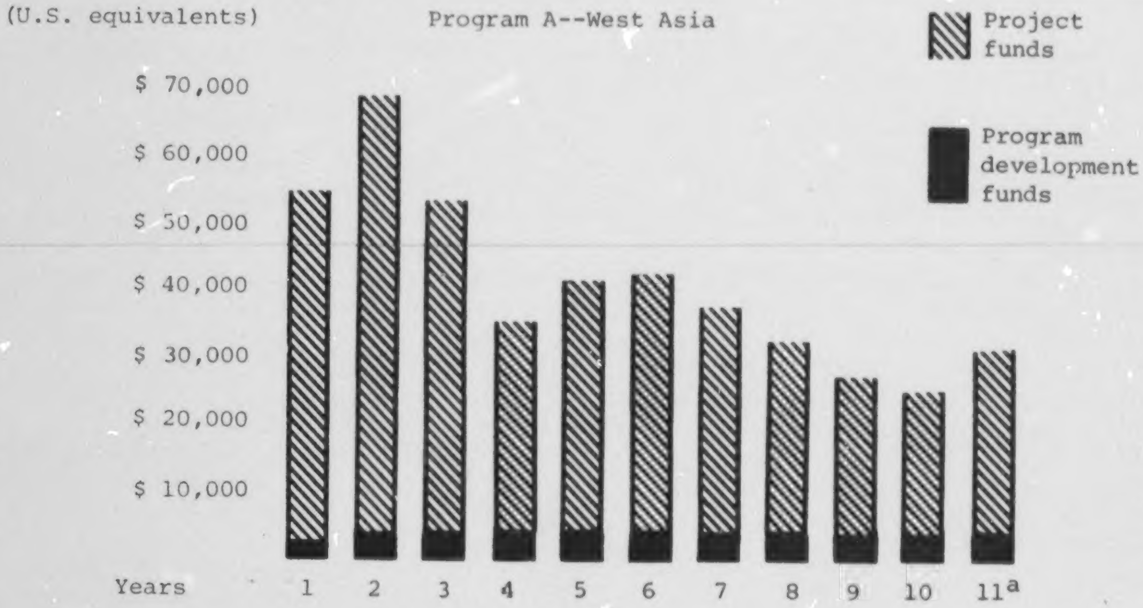
Just two things seem certain. One is that funds are, in the language of scholars, a necessary (though not sufficient) condition for developing anything more than some basic population teaching and individual faculty research in a university. The other side of that coin deserves note in passing: that basic population teaching and individual research can indeed be developed in most universities without special funds, as part of regular university activities. The second certainty is that many funds that glitter attractively turn out not to be gold. While existing data refer to funding shortages in many programs, they also show numerous instances where funds were mistimed or secured for the wrong purposes, flowed in unintended directions, or resulted in delays and distortions of program development or even disaster. The conclusion is inescapable that funding both reflects and modifies many other factors (for example, university-government relations, pressures of funding agencies, top-level program support within the university, and broad gauge development strategies) and that the first confusion of all may start with treating funds as *the* touchstone of program development.

For instance, Box 3.2 shows the funding histories of two programs which started similarly and developed quite differently. Initially, the two programs were similar in size and orientation. Also, over 90 percent of the funds each received were for projects contracted with outside agencies. But there the similarities end. Program A experienced a sharp decline in funds in the fourth year, and another in the ninth year. Meanwhile, indeed throughout the program's 11-year history, the university's contribution (for program development) remained unchanged at $4,250 per year (the percentage of course went unsteadily up, as the total budget declined). By the end --and the end came in the 12th year--the program "owed a lot of debt to the university, as contract money had been repeatedly insufficient to make ends meet." Staff was then down to six faculty members putting in an average of one-third time each, three administrative staff, and five secretarial staff; presumably this strange composition was part legacy from earlier years and part unflagging hopes for program expansion.

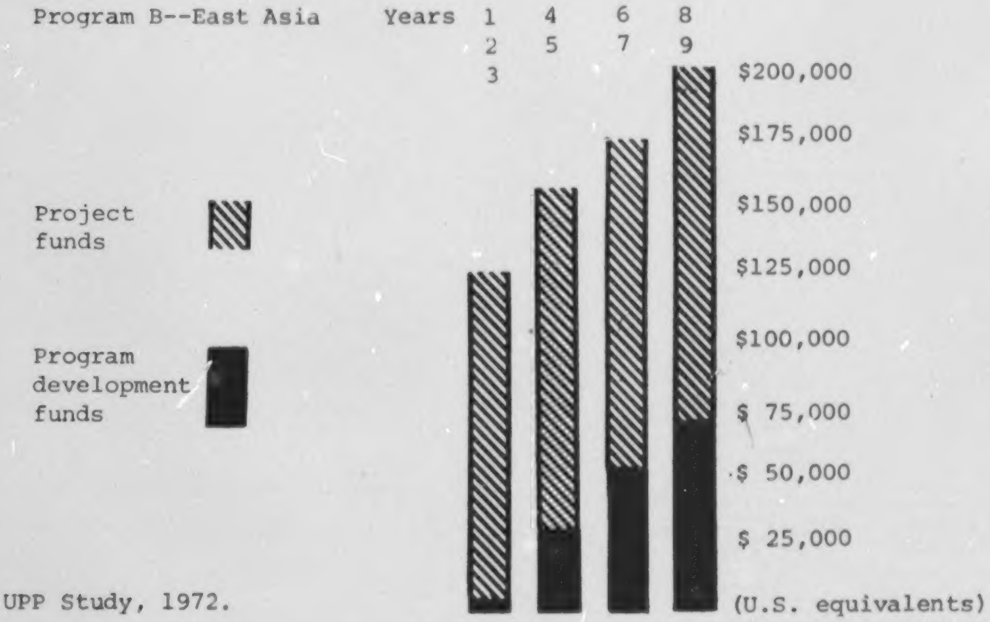
Program B, on the contrary, had steadily expanding funds. Also, it followed a strategy of systematically increasing the proportion of funds for program development, regardless of the funding totals. Actually the figures hide aspects of the total strategy which are of great interest. At first, all project money came from *foreign* sources. But those funds were spent on projects chosen for offering good opportunities to develop program faculty and staff. Second, since the institution was a state university, most of its funds came from the government. The progressive shift to university funding in fact reflected growing amounts of program activities for official agencies paid for not in the form of project funds directly to the UPP but in public grants to the university.

To revert to the comparison with Program A, A was an old, established university, predating the country's independence. The program there set out to secure funds year by year from private and public agencies at provincial rather than

Box 3.2. FUNDING HISTORY OF TWO PROGRAMS



[a]Estimated. "The actual expenditure will be much less." (Program Director)



SOURCE: UPP Study, 1972.

national levels. This difference also affected the kinds and levels of activities of the two programs. Whereas Program B worked mostly with key national agencies concerned with population policy and, by the sixth year, with national operating agencies, Program A worked mostly with local agencies, which were interested primarily in data for their own limited use, such as studies of the probable impact of rapid population growth and distribution on banks, housing requirements, and provincial plans.

The conclusion from this extended comparison must be that funding issues cannot be understood through simple comparisons. The general program profile regarding funding which emerges from data from the 25 UPPs together shows that the typical program receives funds from several sources, usually but not always including its own university; that agencies, international agencies included, give project support rather than support program development; and that the larger UPPs are heavily dependent on governmental funds. Hence the high relevance of the quotes preceding the funding part of this chapter, all of which are from "the affluent society."

Useful distinctions regarding program funding can be drawn along seven dimensions:

1. Project funds and development funds
2. Project funds and funds for independent work
3. Activities easier to fund than others
4. University funds and outside funds
5. Within-country funds and international funds
6. Program funds and departmental funds
7. Funds for the university and funds for the program

Project Funds and Development Funds

Three of the 25 programs receive no development funds at all. (They are not required to pay the university for the space they occupy.) These programs therefore depend wholly on project funds for managing such aspects of their development as staff training, planning, and linkage development. They usually attempt to do this through overhead charges they add to project costs.

This sounds worse for program development than it need be, as the experience of Program B above showed (Box 3.2). But the scary image which project funding conjures up, of narrowly specific short-term work in which emergent ideas (the academician's characteristic contribution) and even professional quality may have to be sacrificed to meet deadlines or the preferences of administrators, has much basis in reality too. The experience of several programs, including some large ones, warns against heavy reliance on project funds. These UPPs seem to be locked into an increasingly hectic cycle of fund raising and dependence on a few agencies whose interests in projects change, this at the cost of their reputation within the university and with private foundations which are the main sources for funds earmarked for program development.

Development funds also hide dangers, judging from the experiences of the few programs predominantly funded by them, only the dangers are different, and in universities, more subtle. One tendency is to equate program development with expansion and to use the funds as "seed money" to include additional departments in the program, start up more activities, and build up UPP facilities, rather than for the humbler and initially less visible homework of developing a distinctive mission for the program, an integrative sturcture, and networks of linkages. When these development funds give out this essential homework then remains undone. One U.S. program director speaks of these issues in Box 3.3.

So each kind of funding has advantages and disadvantages and the standard labels do not distinguish well between them. The task for policy makers is to insure that the funding package *as a whole* satisfies an identifiable set of needs. These are set out in Box 3.4.

"Task-Order" Funds and Funds for Independent Work

Multiple issues are involved in this distinction also, but the central point is to make sure that program faculty have *some* funds to work on ideas and directions which they themselves originate as contrasted with working on projects specified by others.

Usually this distinction is linked to the funding source: outside agencies supposedly fund projects, whereas the university provides funds for independent work. But this need not be so. Program faculty of high reputation in their field are often encouraged by funding agencies to propose *their* ideas with assurance that they will be funded--as "projects," and universities usually tie at least some (often unspecified, sometimes all-absorbing) part of their funds to the performance of standard teaching tasks.

A particularly promising way of funding both project and independent work is to fund them together, as some countries do for research in the natural sciences and technologies. In these cases, project grants carry a percentage of additional money precisely for independent work, usually 10 percent. This is a kind of free research and development component for independent work in directions which have been agreed on as worthy of exploration, but with no expectations of particular outputs, time spans, or success.

Independent work seems at once particularly important and also particularly difficult in population because the field is so new and as yet only crudely explored. Standard knowledge and conceptualizations are weak, so new ideas are of the essence. At the same time national pressures for action in many countries and the scarcity of qualified program faculty in all combine to crowd out time and funding for independent work. One program director says he insists that every applied project have an explicit theory to it, and that he accepts no work with agencies which insist on paying only for what is immediately useful to them.

Box 3.3. PROJECT FUNDS AND DEVELOPMENT FUNDS: U.S. PROGRAM DIRECTOR'S VIEWS (1972)

Funding policies tend to passively accept or even to reinforce the natural limitations inherent in the present organization of the universities on building up efficiently sized integrated research units with a multidisciplinary staff and a long term mandate. Project grants are invariably of a short duration and even institutional support tends to cover, at most, a five year period.

Project grants on which existing research units must depend for their survival are allocated on a competitive basis. Such a system of allocation on the disaggregated level appears to be not only just but also an efficient one since it relies on careful review of research proposals by competent professional review panels. Even on this level, however, some doubts are inevitable: in the competitive process an enormous premium is put on abilities that are at best loosely correlated with creativity in research and only too evidently interfere with actually doing it: watching grant announcements, keeping tab on submission deadlines, maintaining good public relations, guessing fads present and coming, and mastering the fine art of proposal writing. Consideration of the overall efficiency of the system, of its built-in bias for decentralization and wide distribution of grants, of its fragmented conception of research strategy, would raise even more serious questions that seem to be given far too little scrutiny.

Institutional grants surpass some of the limitations mentioned but they too are usually narrow in concept and merely enable institutions newly interested in the field to enter the project-grant sweepstakes with better odds. Even when they are generous in size and ambitious in intent, consideration of the risks involved in concentrated commitment of funds often leads universities to distribute such grants in a widely scattered fashion. It is notable in this context that even institutional grants typically do not include funds for construction. Under the existing circumstances the failure to provide such capital funds appears to explicitly deny the existence or even the intention of a long term commitment to institution building: quite literally building would be then part of an efficient long term grant package. Accordingly, and in the absence of alternative capital funds, decentralized use of institutional grants by universities often is not only a preferred risk-minimizing choice but also a necessity.

Paul Demeny, 1972.

Box 3.4. FUNDS NEEDED TO DEVELOP DIFFERENT ASPECTS OF A POPULATION PROGRAM

Project funds for work requested by policy makers and administrators--initiated by them

Project funds for independent work--directions initiated within the program

Development funds for program establishment and intensive *internal* development: staff development, policy formation, etc.

Development funds for program expansion

"Project" funds for teaching and research in the university

"Project" funds for services in the university, such as family planning education and services for students (Note quotes around project.)

UPP Study, 1972.

Activities Easier to Fund Than Others

Across the wide divergencies that exist between the traditions and capacities of the 25 collaborating universities and their programs, the availability of other institutions in their countries which are competent in population work, the states of national population policies and programs, the accessibility and priorities of local, national, and international funding agencies, and changes in all these over time, it is hazardous to order activities according to their promise and ease of funding. Yet it seems worth doing if only to provoke concrete consideration of actual situations and possibilities.

Box 3.5 lists again the 20 program activities from Box 1.4 (p. 23) and indicates the ease, difficulty or apparent impossibility of funding them within the university or from local, national, or international sources.

One set of generalizations is that it is easier to fund activities focused on program operations rather than on population policy, short-term rather than the long-term outcomes, operations rather than development, and on the interests of governmental rather than "local" agencies (a mixed category, for example, at the provincial level).

A second set of generalizations concerns work on "operations." Difficulties occur regularly in trying to fund preparatory and follow-up work and "waiting time." These difficulties seem to be particularly severe in the case of technical assistance (6), applied research on program operations (9), and training teachers for population education (20). "Core" funds and "retainer" contracts would be appropriate means for including these necessary components in funding such projects, but they are still rare in population programs.

Box 3.5. PROGRAM ACTIVITIES AND FUNDING AGENCIES: EASE (E), DIFFICULTY (D), OR IMPOSSIBILITY (I) OF FUNDING

	Program Activities	Funding Agencies				
		University	Local, e.g., province	Government	UN, AID, etc.	Foundation
1.	Policy research and commentaries	E	D			E
2.	Basic disciplinary research and teaching	E	D			E
3.	Developing data base for population studies	E			E	E
4.	Documentation service	E				E
5.	Population services to students	E		E		
6.	Technical assistance to operating agencies	I		E		
7.	Applied research in policy issues				E	E
8.	Faculty consultation to agencies	I		E		
9.	Applied research on program operations	I		E	E	
10.	Basic research on contract to agencies			E	E	E
11.	Facilitating collaboration between agencies					
12.	Graduate professional education	E	I			
13.	Disciplinary courses for graduate and professional students	E	I			
14.	Large-scale services	I	E	E		
15.	Major undergraduate course program	E	I		I	
16.	Prototype service programs		E	E	E	
17.	Training operating staff for agencies	I	E	E		
18.	Exchange programs of faculty and practitioners					
19.	Mid-career professional education				E	E
20.	Training teachers for population education in schools			E		E

SOURCE: UPP Study, 1972.

University and Outside Funds: Hard and Soft Funds

A total of 22 of the 25 participating programs reported some university funds, usually between 10 and 25 percent of total funds. The percentage was higher only in four programs: Program B (35 percent of its funds from the university after six years--Box 3.2) and in three quite new or very small UPPs. Universities which have a general rule that half the funds for any new program must come from the university do not yet have broad population programs. Whatever the percentage, university funds are almost all for tenured faculty positions, space, other facilities, such as library and data processing, and sometimes for secretarial staff for the director and one or two professors.

None of the 25 programs in this study have endowments and few of their universities have. So, university funds too originate somewhere else, usually with the government. The funds *flow* through the university, sometimes earmarked specifically for the program, sometimes not. In some countries an intermediate agency does the earmarking, as does the University Grants Commission in India, which receives its funds from the government as a block grant. Or public funds are allocated to a ministry, perhaps of health, for the specific purpose of distributing them to universities for work in population. In that case, the ministry can influence the allocation of funds between universities but otherwise has no choice, even if it regards university programs as competitors in the field.

The main point is that university funds are *hard*--certain to continue--and programs need to cover a substantial proportion of their budgets with such funds, to give program faculty the same basis of job security as departmental faculty, to avoid political vulnerability, and to insure continuing high quality work. From the university's point of view, allocating funds to the UPP, whatever their source, signifies its commitment to the program and the program's commitment to academic standards of work. The minimum hard funds required for a UPP may be the salaries and allowances of all program faculty who substantially and regularly contribute to the academic work of the university. For purposes of program development, it seems important that university funds come as a block grant, for use by the UPP in accordance with accepted policies.

Within-Country Funds and Foreign Funds

All international funds are *soft*, those for development as well as those for projects; they are strictly temporary, to help a program make a quick start with some activities or "to build capacity." That done, these funds can cease. They are also subject to all the mixed feelings and erratic shifts associated with all third-party funding (in which the receiver and the giver have no direct mutual exchange), magnified in this case by cultural differences and great distances. Now that the image of foreign assistance as savior of the downtrodden has worn thin, it is easier to see that using foreign funds has many pitfalls and that using them well calls for extra care.

All but one of the 22 programs in our study outside the United States had international funds, and the one exception failed, after 12 increasingly difficult years. But this concentration surely does not mean that virtually all population programs in universities get foreign assistance or that only those who get it succeed. It only shows that this study like other international studies has concentrated on internationally connected programs.

In form, immediate purpose, and duration, foreign assistance to population programs is quite diverse. Appendix C (p. 156), sets out experiences to date with foreign funds under four heads: (1) program faculty and staff; (2) consultation and advisory services; (3) project funds; and (4) library and equipment. While assistance agencies have distinctive preferences and styles, often arising from constraints on *their* funding, foreign assistance of notable variety also flows from the same sources. Foundations fund short-term projects and also long-term program development; governmental agencies, like the U.S. Agency for International Development and the international agencies of the UN family do so too. Perhaps most pointed and consistent have been the very different efforts of two U.S. agencies. Characteristic of the Rockefeller Foundation's work with universities has been broad, long-term support to the all-round development of a few large institutions, such as the health complex at Universidad del Valle, Colombia, with population as one of several areas. An alternative strategy is that of the Population Council, which has for over 10 years funded numerous small developments specifically in demography/population studies, each creating a professorship with the necessary supporting services and facilities and opportunities for indigenous faculty to do advanced degree work overseas. Interuniversity assistance, funded by the UN or USAID, has moved more to the fore of late. Funds flow to some U.S. universities for this purpose and the original funding agencies retain only indirect control. This method of channeling foreign assistance has been well tested in such fields as agriculture. Appendix D (p. 161) sets out the main foreign assistance agencies working with university population programs and the major characteristics of their funding interests to date.

Most important, probably, is a growing realization that foreign assistance *is* an intervention--*all* outside funding of a program is--and an intervention across many more pitfalls and uncontrollable uncertainties than others. To allow program development to be determined by foreign funds would be analogous to painting fine strokes with a brush having a handle eight feet long. While having foreign funds may enable a program to go outside its immediate condition and the condition of its university and country, to live beyond one's means is particularly risky in this case, because opening up new lines of program development involves committing future resources and, because judgements about how far and fast the UPP can be pushed ahead before it unbalances a department or the university destructively are very fine. That foreign funds for program development have all been grants hides these risks; they seem to be "free." The possible costs are very evident in those programs which oriented themselves so far to foreign assistance agencies and their often impatient pacing that they have become isolated inside their universities and so lack influence there--which denies an important part of the basic rationale of having a *university* program in the first place.

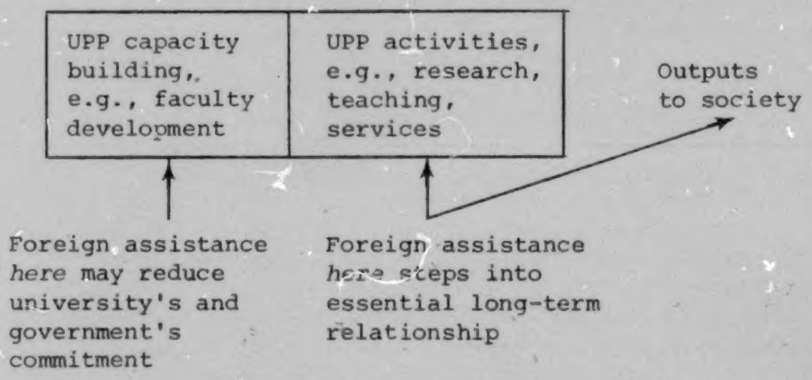
Box 3.6 illustrates high risk and low risk strategies for the flow of foreign assistance.

In fact, only two conditions make the risk of foreign funding worth taking. One exists if there is good reason to expect conditions to catch up, such as population awareness, policy and legislation, allocation of resources. In this case foreign assistance can reduce lead time, accelerating program development in anticipated directions which the university and country can support within, say, five years.

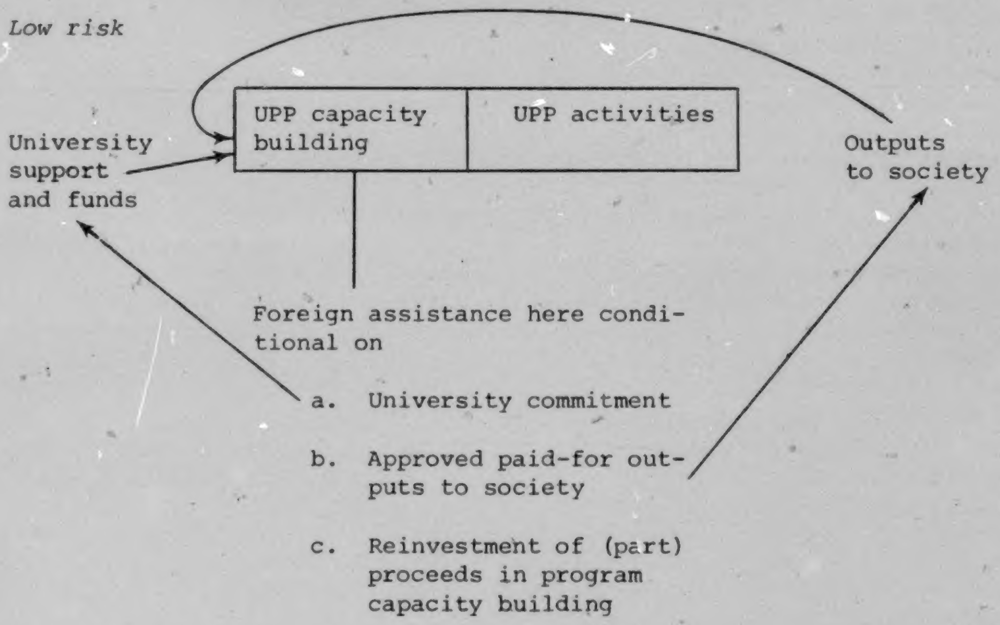
This first condition need not be met if a second prevails: that the need itself is temporary and can be met altogether in a limited period. Faculty development is an example. When a minimum concentration of senior faculty and competent staff work in the program, further faculty development properly becomes *their*

Box 3.6. HIGH RISK AND LOW RISK FLOWS OF FOREIGN ASSISTANCE

1. High risk


UPP capacity building, e.g., faculty development
UPP activities, e.g., research, teaching, services
Outputs to society
Foreign assistance *here* may reduce university's and government's commitment
Foreign assistance *here* steps into essential long-term relationship

2. Low risk


UPP capacity building
UPP activities
University support and funds
Outputs to society
Foreign assistance here conditional on
a. University commitment
b. Approved paid-for outputs to society
c. Reinvestment of (part) proceeds in program capacity building

function. The situation is similar for demonstration activities, and for library materials and equipment which can be expected to last until the country develops its own population literature and sources of equipment and supplies.

Policy makers in universities and countries receiving aid need to be even more concerned with avoiding the pitfalls of foreign assistance than donor agencies because the advantages, as also the costs, attach primarily to their own institutions. This realization is growing and is epitomized by the changed attitude on the part of some major programs toward assistance from several agencies. Until recently, the possibilities of assistance from several sources evoked visions of tactical advantages from having the funding agencies compete among themselves. Recently it has become more common for UPPs to ask agencies to meet jointly and to sort out together their common interests in helping a program develop.

Program Funds and Department Funds

The sixth and seventh sets of issues have to do with sorting out funding responsibilities and the flow of funds within the university, between the program and the various departments and schools collaborating in it and between the university administration and the program.

Program funding has often run into difficulties when one or more departments as well as the program itself put forward separate proposals for funding to the same agency, even though for different kinds of population work. More than coordination and good order are involved here though these are clearly necessary. It is common that some departments in the university have better established contacts for funding disciplinary activities than others, and better than the new program has for funding these or interdisciplinary activities. So these units are set to competing against each other rather than collaborating. Where competition threatens, strong leadership and agreement on goals and priorities are required, otherwise the overall program remains partial and starved of funds. To insure sound development, it is also important that the program quickly develop *additional* funding sources of its own. Foreign funds can help equalize funding opportunities quickly but, of couse, not permanently.

But some programs have suffered from inequality in the opposite direction. Having secured funds early these programs offered departments "seed money" to initiate some population teaching, research, or service activity. The crunch came when the initial funds ran out, usually within three years, and departments then had the additional faculty and staff on their hands without having provided for them. Getting long-term benefits from "seed money" depends on agreeing with departments in advance that the burden will be shifted gradually, perhaps from year to year. Even then the risks of incurring excessive obligations remain and there are departments now who wish they had never started down this road at all. This hindsight is different, though, from the damaging situations which have arisen where the temporary nature of the funding and the ensuing obligations for the department were left unclear, for whatever reason. In those programs, ruptures have occurred which show all signs of permanence.

One strategy to deal with this set of issues has been to locate funding decisions high up in the university, for instance, in the rector's or provost's office.

Control of the budget and assignment of funds for high priority programs and people is one of the most effective administrative devices for influencing the course of program development and making it safe. That high office can deal with funding agencies on the one hand on behalf of the university as a whole, thus internalizing any competitions, and with the program and departments and faculties on the other.

Funds for the University and Funds for the Program

The allocation of population funds within the university needs to insure that additional faculty time and facilities in fact become available for population work. This requires special provisions in most universities, since it is usual to channel all new funds into a central pool out of which funds are then allocated to departments, programs, and so on, and to the central university administration for all purposes. Under this simple arrangement, population funds do not flow necessarily or in the required amounts to the particularly units--departments or center--which actually need the additional faculty time and facilities to carry out new population work. Since faculty are already paid by the university, the justification for this goes, it is quite legitimate to ask them to participate in the new program without further remuneration, whereas the new UPP does bring additional administrative costs. The problem with it is that additional faculty time does not in fact become available in this way. Nor is the issue satisfactorily handled by paying identified faculty extra for the additional work, as some programs do, since their usual university duties plus their private practice during off-duty hours already eat up all the time they have.

The solution calls for more precise allocations of funds within the university than is usual. Additional funds can be divided between central university administration and the programs and departments involved in accordance with the costs actually to be incurred, such as faculty time or the use of data processing equipment These items can become line items in the separate budgets of the program, departments working in population, and the central administration. Salaries do not augment the payments to faculty members or staff engaged in population work, but instead pay for substitute or supplementary faculty or staff who are brought in to carry on the earlier activities.

Any additional costs of the program to the central administration can be established in the same manner, though maybe not as precisely, and funding them is equally legitimate. Otherwise, as several programs have found, issues of "overhead" charges, whether to allow for any at all and if so how much, have led to serious difficulties with both funding agencies and with the programs themselves. Some programs, since they were not given the space and administrative services they needed by the university, have rented space and set up their own administrative services, taking the necessary funds from some other part of the budget. As a U.S. program director's comment on this shows in Box 3.7, funding agencies do programs no favor if they allow inappropriate funding and administrative traditions to continue in the university. Like it or not, population work has to take the place of some other work if it is to get done and the way to insure this happening is to use population funds to take the place of other funds, above all for faculty salaries.

Box 3.7. FUNDING AND ALLOCATION WITHIN THE UNIVERSITY

The most fruitful Government-university relationship might be almost the opposite of the pattern that prevails today, which is for the federal agency to defer to the university on how a program is organized and situated within the structure of the university, but to be niggling over details of expenditure and procedures. Federal funding often falls short of the help it is intended to bring to the university center, because the funding agency prefers to overlook some of the most apparent facts of life upon university campuses. Federal resources to promote multidisciplinary collaboration on socially relevant problems are thus often allocated where they are the least needed, or prove ineffective where needed, because the agency has had no strategy to reinforce the efforts of the center to establish an academic climate conducive to multidisciplinary work.

U.S. Program Director, 1972.

Institutional Reinvestment

A look at the program development map at this time (p. 8) shows resources coming from three sources in the country: society, university, and "institutional reinvestments." The last is well worth special attention because it tends to be neglected in setting program policy but is important. A brief word will suffice because the matter is also simple as soon as it is in focus. Unlike a program's outputs, which in exchange yield funds for buying UPP resources, or funds in the form of grants, which relate to program outputs only indirectly and in the unspecified future, institutional reinvestments are UPP resources which are *created* by program activities, directly and without additional cost. For instance, faculty and staff become more competent as they engage in population work. Similarly, contacts with operating or funding agencies developed in the course of some particular population project may carry forward into future work and funding, and open up new opportunities. These resources originate on the output side of the map and flow directly back to the input side as increased program capacities, opportunities, and so on.

That these resources cost nothing extra is basically important. But the policy implications of focusing on them goes beyond that fact. First, projecting the UPP into this reinforcing cycle (successful program activities --> reinvestment --> higher program capacity) looks like the most promising strategy for programs to adopt for quick and sound development. With this, even a very small start can be a very good beginning, particularly in population work where staff and other resources are so very scarce. Second, programs are well set for development if they chose to carry out activities which yield institutional reinvestments at high rates.

SUMMARY

In this quick survey of UPP resources, leadership was given precedence over funds because the nature of population work requires this and also because the human resources for population program development are even scarcer than the material resources. This last is saying quite something! Funds for existing programs are a mere trickle of what seems to be required and even at that they are highly precarious, oscillating between feast and famine. Programs are beset by continuous anxiety on this score; three out of our sample of 25 programs, for instance, depend wholly on short-term project funds. One result is that additional universities which so far have no population programs are alternately tempted to develop one and then also immediately discouraged from venturing it.

Men and money are of course closely interrelated. Scanning and testing for possible funds is essential early for deciding on program type and size, and these decisions then heavily influence others about UPP leadership and strategies of program development.

With program development so heavily dependent on many parts flowing together, and so many parts dependent on situations and forces beyond the control of the policy makers in a particular university, large areas remain open to wide uncertainty and periodic conflict, even under the best of circumstances. It is here that a liberal sense of humor will help, individually and collectively. It helps take the rough with the smooth, and avoid overreaction to momentary frustration or to detailed mishaps. To continue to move in the direction of development, a sense of steadiness is important, a sense of vision and of working step-by-step.

CHAPTER FOUR CONTENTS

Box 4.1 Conflicting Demands on the Program: Decision Point with Five Choices 102

FOUR MAPS WITH COMMON DECISION POINTS 104

Program Development in Established Universities 104
- Program 1: A Department or School Reaches Out to Associate Others With Its Own Academically Oriented Program 104
  - Box 4.2 Development Map 1: One Discipline Reaches Out, Academic Orientation: Components Requiring Attention and When 105
  - Box 4.3 Development Map 1: One Discipline Reaches Out, Academic Orientation: Decision Points 107
- Program 2: One Discipline Reaches Out, for Its Field-Oriented Program 107
  - Box 4.4 Development Map 2: One Discipline Reaches Out, Field-Service Orientation: Components Requiring Attention, and When 108
  - Box 4.5 Development Map 2: One Discipline Reaches Out, Field-Service Orientation: Decision Points 111
- Program 3: Several Disciplines Join Together to Develop an Interdisciplinary Program 112
  - Box 4.6 Development Map 3: Interdisciplinary Program Components Requiring Attention, and When 113
  - Box 4.7 Objectives of Series of Meetings to Prepare Interdisciplinary Program (Latin America) 114
  - Box 4.8 Development Map 3: Interdisciplinary Program Decision Points 116

Program Development in New Universities 117

BASIC RHYTHMS, THEMES, AND VARIATIONS 118

Establishing Program Scope 118
- Box 4.9 Institution-Building Criteria for Choosing Early Program Activities: Two Examples 121
- Box 4.10 Basic Sequence of Program Components for Program Start and Program Reviews 122

PROGRAM MONITORING AND EVALUATION 122
- Box 4.11 Criteria Used by Program Directors for Evaluating Their Programs and the Criteria They Think Various Others Use 123
- Box 4.12 Questions on Major Components of Program Development 124
- Box 4.13 Institutional Profile 127

Policy Makers and Monitoring 128
- Box 4.14 Four-Step Sequence for Developing Program Monitoring 130
- Box 4.15 Criteria for Assessing How Far the Program Has Been Institutionalized 130

4 Keeping Programs on Course: Monitoring and Evaluation

Some institutes have succeeded in meeting their objectives, in maintaining stability in operations, in attracting high level staff; others, however, have floundered because of instability of budgets, inability to hold scholars of high level, and the tendency for research to diverge from the announced objectives of the institutes.

U.S. Social Research Council, 1967

Do not judge the direction of a yacht from watching one leg of its course.

Nautical maxim

Developing a population program is a major enterprise, on all counts. Here is not just another subject, like anthropology, or an obvious candidate for another university center or institute, like area studies. Something new seems to be required, reaching deep down into the university's mission and far and wide into its organization and ways of working. How to organize and fund the program is an important consideration, but first comes wanting it badly enough to warrant the major reviews and rearrangements it usually touches off. In the process the university may also learn how to tool up for some other emerging fields of study, such as ecology or urbanization or national development; this pathbreaking with the population program may make the costs more acceptable. The immediate costs of the program are, however, high.

Keeping the costs to a minimum means minimizing the complexities and uncertainties of population program development. The map of program building (Box 0.3, p. 8) was a major simplification of numerous smaller components--we have identified 20 types of UPP activities and they are aimed at two major publics; four kinds of linkages, three or more phases of leadership, development funds and project funds, and so on. But the map still shows 11 major components with several thousand potential interrelationships. Both program and environment are complex and shifting, making it both essential and so difficult to keep track of developments and guide the program forward.

Particularly promising in the direction of maximum simplification is the possibility of establishing some likely starting points on the map and tracing the sequences in which major components require attention. This would show how the development process usually unfolds in these cases. References in earlier chapters to development phases and to partial sequences foreshadowed this possibility. If such a sequential mapping--a set of flow charts with some alternative routes--could be constructed, even if only crudely and with imagined links sketched in where knowledge now leaves gaps, policy makers and program directors would not have to attempt to range over the whole scene all the time or to reduce its complexity arbitrarily by personal preferences and blind spots. Instead they could fix their eyes and minds on important aspects in turn, to anticipate combinations and sequences with skills well focused and with economy of effort.

Our data suggest that there are half a dozen points from which programs usually start and then go through some characteristic phases which can be mapped. For instance, it makes a difference whether the main impetus for starting the UPP comes from outside or inside the university. Outside impetus is usually for a service-oriented program. If backed with substantial funding, this orientation attracts nonacademic types of "faculty" (even in an academic university). Their positions usually have new titles and maybe higher salaries, instead of academic tenure, and therefore influence in the university. In short, the university as a whole tends to protect itself against a new program of this kind. To integrate it properly into the university, a substantial proportion of faculty in the program may have to acquire advanced degrees and so the regular titles and potential influence. Meanwhile, viewed by outsiders such as public agencies, competition is often the tone at first and policy makers in the highest quarters of the university may have to insist and protect if the program is to work on significant tasks at all. In time the tasks can be sorted out so that the university program concentrates on experimental work and the agencies on development work and routinized large-scale services. This is the same route university programs of agricultural extension have traveled many times, confirming again that important generic issues are involved in developing a population program, and that much can be learned from experiences in some other field(s) in the same or some nearby university.

Further along this kind of route some important decision points can often be identified, with choices listed systematically and the major implications of each--a sort of decision tree. Box 4.1 shows an example of this: the five choices available for action when the program has to sort out conflicting demands from the university and from outside agencies. The example represents an early decision point in academic universities developing a field-oriented population program.

Box 4.1. CONFLICTING DEMANDS ON THE PROGRAM: DECISION POINT WITH FIVE CHOICES

1. *Treat the two publics--university and outside agencies--separately:* aim to turn out enough products, somehow, to satisfy each.

Inevitably this leads to double work for program staff, the director most of all. The thing to be clear about is that the issue is not overwork per se--all innovative work involves that--but that the demands from these two publics will *continue* to conflict, and that double work can have no end until somebody does something about the conflict itself. We know no program that can keep up the "payments" to the two publics separately for long. One or the other gets shortchanged and stops supporting the program.

Or

2. *Satisfy the two publics alternately.*
This pushes staff, above all the director, toward a public relations stance. At any time, each public must be assured that the program is busy on *its* work. Public relations is of course itself additional work, taking time away from doing the work which will actually count in the end. Programs which keep going on this version are characterized by a growing "administrative" staff, of whom many are busy allocating and reallocating budget figures, and writing and rewriting project proposals and reports for different readers, and by periodic "crises," such as at refunding time.

Or

3. *Settle for satisfying one public or the other, but not both.*
Some programs have forsaken their broad mission and beginnings and concentrated either on training specialized professional manpower and independent research, or, a very few, wholly on field services. One program has nearly a thousand field staff and may sever its university connection which is fair enough, for it is really an operating agency, albeit an unusually sopisticated one, and not a university program. Another program, started in the field, has never succeeded in making the connection with the local university, though it strongly desires to do so for professional recognition and for influencing the university more generally. The result is two exclusive alliances: the first hides the program behind the traditional walls of the university and the second puts it on the far side of the wall, into the community.

Or

4. *Secure additional resources* from a third party, usually an international assistance agency, and expand the program in the hope of satisfying the university and outside publics.
This postpones the inevitable conflict and also complicates it. For now there is a third public to be satisfied, the donor agency, and one, moreover, which focuses attention away from the other two, on international contacts, time-absorbing travel, and distant reference points for success or failure.

Or

5. *Face the conflict* and manage it, both for the present and for the future (for example, by bringing the parties involved together).

UPP Study, 1972.

Almost without exception, programs so far have allowed this particular issue to creep up on them, as if it were not bound to occur or would be simple to deal with when it did. The simplistic responses are in fact all dysfunctional and it is fruitless to jump from one to another of them; and if jumping about becomes a habit, it can damage the program permanently.

The message here is that at least some important decision points can be marked on the development map of every program and the implications of following one route rather than another described. We have in hand a set of route maps like this showing prevailing tendencies at points along the way which are set up by the inherent nature of processes at work and their openness to outside influences. Now, tendencies are not the same as absolutes, like the road distance between two places, each program still develops within a particular constellation of forces. And the routes themselves can be indicated with greater precision now than can the years it takes to travel them. Policy makers are in the best position to take account of local conditions as they map the development route for their particular program.

FOUR MAPS WITH COMMON DECISION POINTS

This section consists of development maps and decision points for four population programs of different but common types, three in established universities and one in a new university. They are reconstructed from hindsight, using personal accounts and documents long after the events. Our main purpose now is to use the information predictively, as guidelines for the future.

Program Development in Established Universities

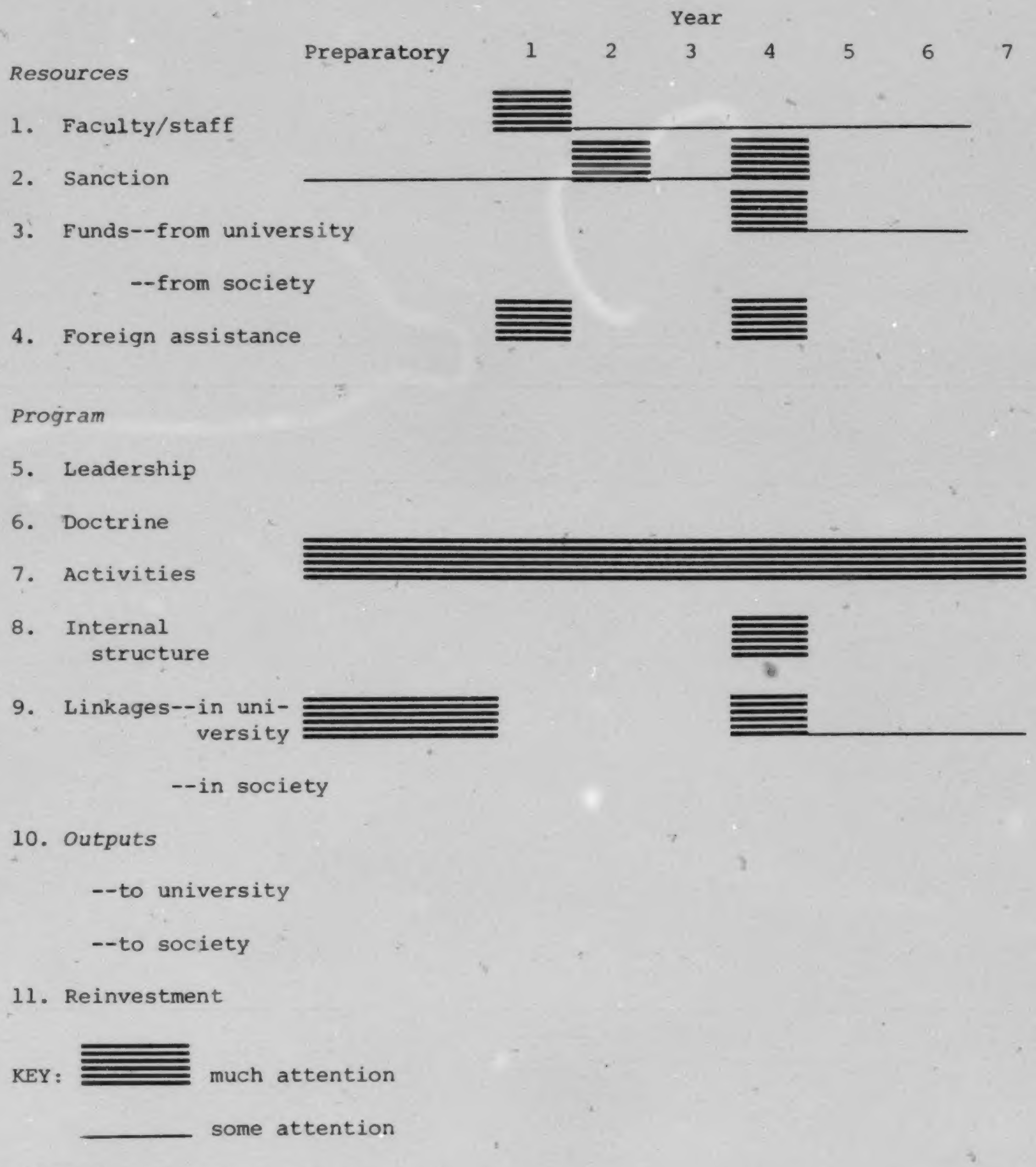
In established universities with some population and population-realted activities already going on in several disciplinary departments and schools, the classic first move is taken either (1) by one department or school reaching out in order to associate with *its* work faculty members from other disciplines or (2) by a few disciplines getting together, such as in a population committee, to develop a joint program.

Program 1: *A department or school reaches out to associate others with its own academically oriented program.*

The map for this is the simplest, by far. Usually only one program building component, program activities, requires major attention for long periods; and since these activities are research and teaching and therefore central to all university activities, they are special only in so far as they are interdisciplinary. To that extent they require linkages to other disciplines. In this type program the linkages are between interested individuals; inter*departmental* issues, such as joint appointments get involved only later, if at all.

The pattern can be summarized in a kind of work chart (Box 4.2).

Box 4.2. DEVELOPMENT MAP 1: ONE DISCIPLINE REACHES OUT, ACADEMIC ORIENTATION: COMPONENTS REQUIRING ATTENTION, AND WHEN



SOURCE: UPP Study, 1972.

Six other components move in and out of focus as this type of program develops, in the following sequence:

1. *Faculty and Faculty Development.* This is the most urgent and important. In several fields central to population research and teaching (demography is an outstanding example) the shortage of competent faculty is absolute and nearly universal. Adding some new interdisciplinary activities to the work of the existing few or luring one or two faculty members away from elsewhere can at best provide only temporary relief, though this can be important during the long years that future faculty are in training. Five to six years is a useful perspective on faculty development that is planned well and started quickly.

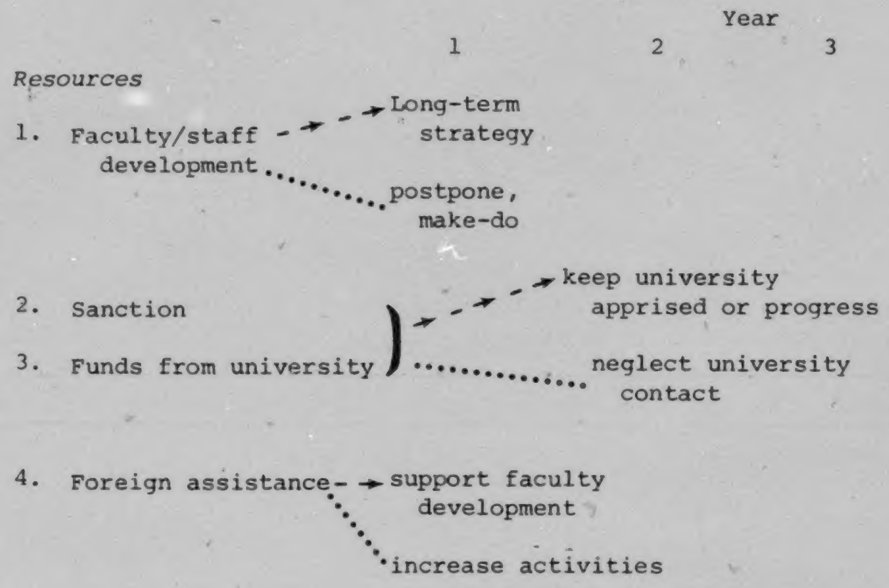
2. *Foreign Assistance.* Commonly along with faculty development comes the need for some foreign assistance: for the most promising new faculty to get advanced degrees overseas and for, meanwhile, visiting faculty to be secured from abroad to start the program. (For other purposes at this stage, like simply augmenting activities, foreign assistance would distract.) Foreign assistance requires intensive attention again when the time comes for refunding, usually in the third year. In between, there are periodic reports and visits.

3, 4. *University Support.* University support for the program, even where it is agreed on in principle at the beginning, looms up powerfully when the first foreign-trained faculty are due back from abroad expecting full-time permanent appointments. Does the university have the *funds* then? Does it really want the program to expand? Preparation for these essential components actually belongs way back, when, after securing the initial formal sanction, the director had best keep the university authorities involved in planning and well informed of progress. In several programs neglecting this aspect has led to upheavals in program governance in the third or fourth year, including changes in leadership.

5, 6. *Linkages, Internal Structure.* For involving other departments in the program, issues of *linkages* or *internal structure* move to the fore.

The decision points can be mapped, as in Box 4.3.

Box 4.3. DEVELOPMENT MAP 1: ONE DISCIPLINE REACHES OUT, ACADEMIC ORIENTATION: DECISION POINTS


Year
1
2
3
4
Resources
1. Faculty/staff development
Long-term strategy
postpone, make-do
2. Sanction
3. Funds from university
keep university apprised or progress
neglect university contact
4. Foreign assistance
support faculty development
increase activities

KEY: ➔ – ➔ likely to be sound

.... unlikely to lead anywhere

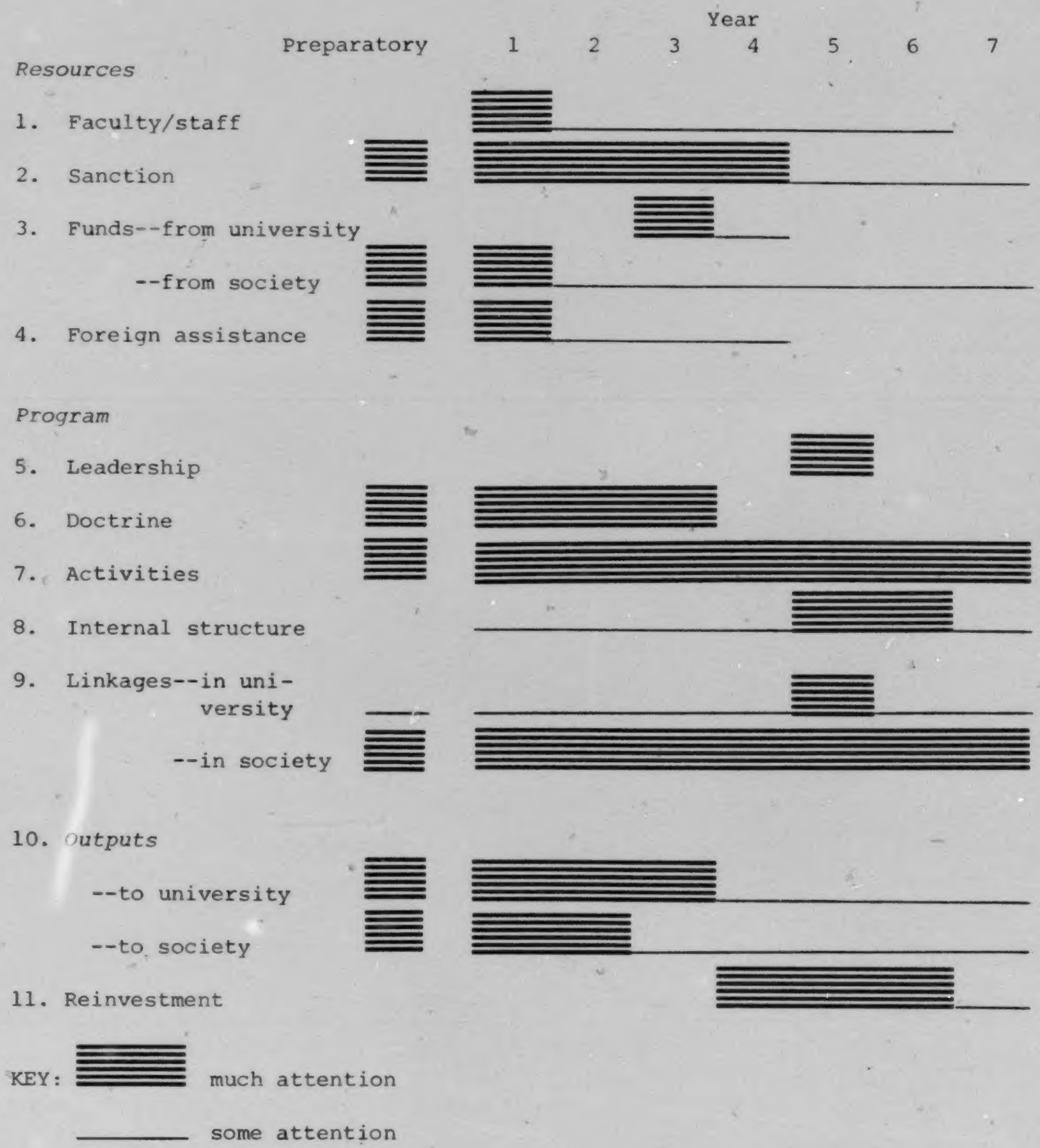
SOURCE: UPP Study, 1972.

Program 2: *One discipline reaches out for its field-oriented program.*

Appendix E reproduces extracts from the histories of two disciplinary field-oriented programs reaching out to other disciplines. One, rooted in demography, is based in the broadly conceived and organized Faculty of Social Science Administration. The other is in law and, developed with a different style, presents several key issues starkly. For the Law School to develop a field-oriented program was so unusual in that university that it led, first, to a succession of severe crises and, in the end, to an unusually strong but very distant institute (distant from the university, but close to the state government). Only two of its 30 faculty members work regularly with other parts of the university.

Box 4.4 shows the development map for this type of program.

Box 4.4. DEVELOPMENT MAP 2: ONE DISCIPLINE REACHES OUT, FIELD-SERVICE ORIENTATION: COMPONENTS REQUIRING ATTENTION, AND WHEN



SOURCE: UPP Study, 1972.

This map is much more complex than the earlier one. Numerous components need attention, particularly at two periods: at the very first, when essential differences from usual university activities and organizational arrangements have to be firmly set; and in the fourth and fifth years when faculty returning from advanced education overseas insist on modifications in program structure and linkages (if such modifications are not made, these essential faculty often leave).

Preparatory Period and Early Years. As many as eight major development components are prominent during the preparatory period which, in the case of the Law Institute, lasted many years. One set establishes the *field orientation* and the *resources* for it. Outward-oriented *program activities* are important for this but if pursued by themselves lead into two dangers. One is that the program may become a mere arm of the outside agencies that *fund* it, responding to the needs *they* voice, and as this continues it works almost wholly to *their* specifications in order to keep the funds coming. It is very difficult to balance such severe dependence on outside agencies with independent work. It is important here to pay major attention to enabling and diffuse *linkages* of the program with agencies outside the university (for example, the Southeast Asia Program secured formal backing from the prime minister's office to give it strength) just when work on functional linkages, for specific outputs and funds, looks more pressing and tends to monopolize attention.

The second danger, multiplied for UPPs which are highly responsive to outside agencies, is that activities become so numerous and diffuse that no major program thrusts clearly emerge, and also no clear program image. The tendencies to scatter program activities are heightened because of the people who continuously join this type of UPP. They tend to be enthusiastic, to belittle or ignore risks, and to be impatient of university restraints. Offsetting this calls for major work on *program doctrine*, in order to establish clear boundaries and priorities and to give the program a public image which matches its doctrine. The Southeast Asia Program succeeded in doing this by establishing one major longitudinal study at the core of its activities and clustering various activities and faculty training around this.

A second set of components which requires a lot of careful work during the preparatory period and the early years of operations concerns the program's relationship with the university. Strong top-level *sanction* and continued backing are required for this type of program. Because all or most of the funds usually come from outside and contribute to the university's general expenses, formal sanctions may be readily secured. But this is not enough. The university's own purposes must be reflected in the program's mission and in its *outputs to the university* even if the university contributes little or no funds to the UPP. It is outputs to the university which safeguard the program's base in the university.

Faculty development with foreign assistance is prominent in most programs and a form of reinvestment attractive to the university. *External assistance* can create the necessary means for launching field activities early and securing outside funding in the country.

The Integrative Phase: Years Four and Five. A major shift in attention occurs in these programs in the fourth and fifth year, and an initial policy for securing more *university funds and sanction* for the program year by year is proper preparation for this. At this time the program seeks to expand with faculty returning from overseas training.

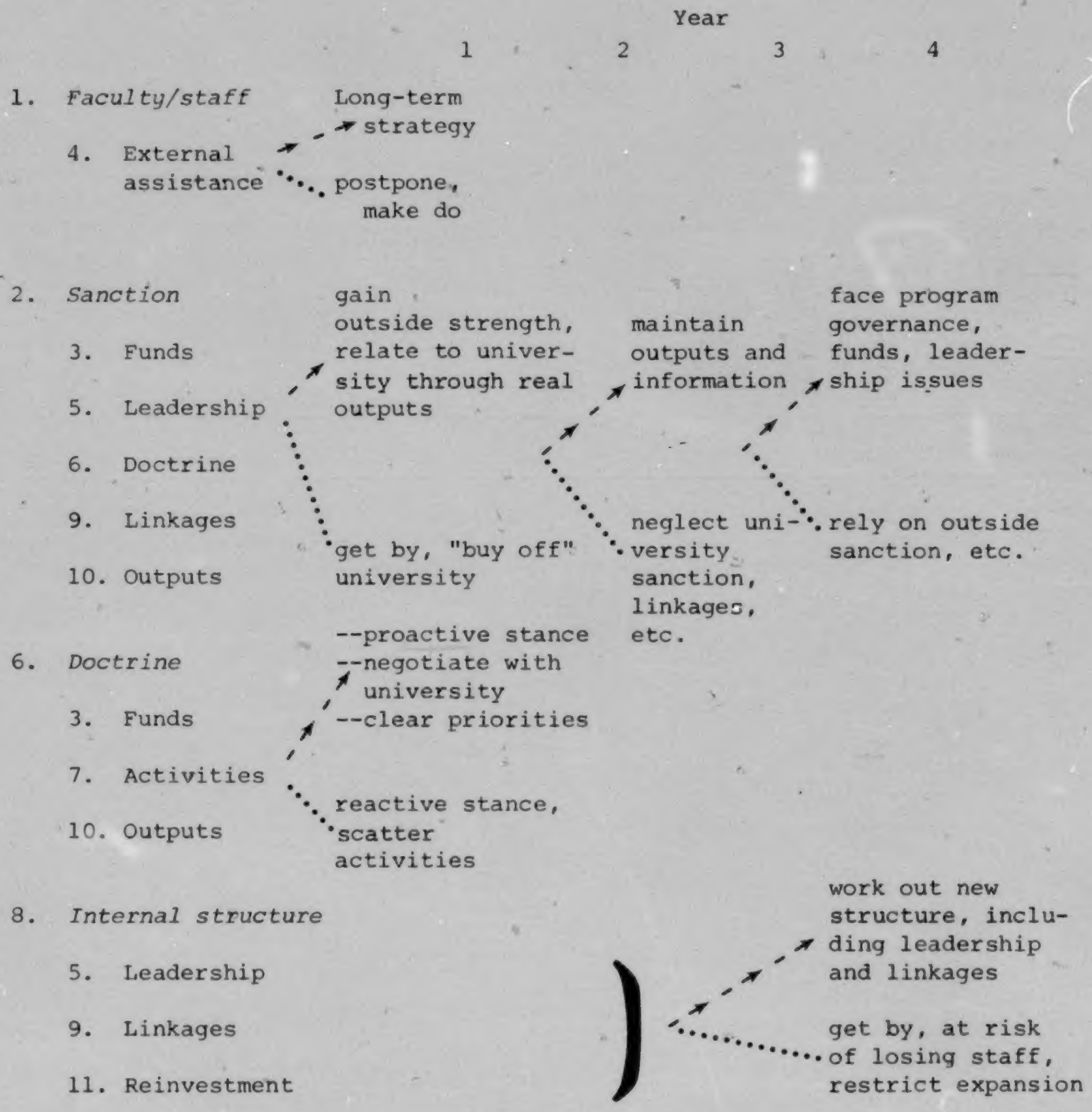
It is tempting at this stage to let the program continue to run largely or wholly on outside funds instead of confronting the university with the need to make long-term commitments, such as by providing tenure appointments and more space for the program. Several program directors have succumbed to this temptation. Having achieved success and national and international prominence in the course of developing the UPP this far--usually through strong personal leadership--they are not sure they want to involve others much in program leadership and risk losing some independence.

Another issue, also involving *linkages within the university*, has to do with properly integrating the field-oriented faculty. The Law Institute illustrates the slow progression of program faculty from no academic status at all to special faculty titles and, finally, on to the same academic titles as other faculty; other field-oriented programs, as in agriculture, have had the same wearying experience. The issues of integrating a field-oriented program in an academic setting cut deep. Proper preparation for dealing with them includes major attention from the early years on to research and teaching, which the university respects, and to developing fully qualified and accredited faculty.

A related issue is *internal structure*. As the program grows and faculty members return from independent experiences overseas, the centralized leadership and personal control by the program director, which is common in the first phase of program development, becomes inappropriate and offensive. Internal program structure has to become more complex, providing, for instance, mechanisms for shared decision making and control and for information flows to match. Programs which do not accommodate the aspirations and styles of new senior faculty lose them, often the best first, and their loss puts development back many years. If the director is rigid, policy makers need to consider the pros and cons of letting the program continue to be limited to his personal capacities and tolerances, or insisting on different leadership including a change of director, if necessary.

The decision points can again be mapped, as in Box 4.5.

Box 4.5. DEVELOPMENT MAP 2: ONE DISCIPLINE REACHES OUT, FIELD-SERVICE ORIENTATION: DECISION POINTS



Year 1 2 3 4

1. *Faculty/staff*
   4. External assistance
   - Long-term strategy
   - postpone, make do

2. *Sanction*
   3. Funds
   5. Leadership
   6. Doctrine
   9. Linkages
   10. Outputs
   - gain outside strength, relate to university through real outputs
     - maintain outputs and information
       - face program governance, funds, leadership issues
       - rely on outside sanction, etc.
     - neglect university sanction, linkages, etc.
   - get by, "buy off" university

6. *Doctrine*
   3. Funds
   7. Activities
   10. Outputs
   - --proactive stance
     --negotiate with university
     --clear priorities
   - reactive stance, scatter activities

8. *Internal structure*
   5. Leadership
   9. Linkages
   11. Reinvestment
   - work out new structure, including leadership and linkages
   - get by, at risk of losing staff, restrict expansion

KEY: – → – → likely to be sound

.... unlikely to lead anywhere

SOURCE: UPP Study, 1972.

Program 3: *Several disciplines join together*
to develop an interdisciplinary program.

One such program is described in Appendix F. Box 4.6 sets out the components as they come into focus for this type of program. Development of interdisciplinary programs is characterized by long preparation followed by a honeymoon period of a year or so and then, at approximately three-year intervals, by far-reaching reviews and changes.

Preparation and First Year. Two to three years of preparatory work is common for this type of program, due to inherent complexity and to unfamiliarity in most universities and public agencies with interdisciplinary programs of all kinds. Eight major components require attention during the preparatory period, severally and interrelatedly. The disciplinary organization of most universities adds complications. Disciplines already involved in population work find it easier to begin to collaborate among themselves than to bring in additional disciplines. So instead of including new perspectives, skills, and people, they tend to form an exclusive club. It is also difficult to marshall the energy for careful preparation. A planning grant or its equivalent can greatly help here, freeing some key people for the substantial time and effort required.

Temptations abound to simplify the task arbitrarily. One is to relate existing activities administratively but not substantively. Programs that have gotten sidetracked in this direction tend before long to concentrate on providing interested departments and schools with some services, for example, a population library, advanced training for departmental faculty, "seed money" for some departmental projects; but that is all. They are then *multi*disciplinary programs but not *inter*disciplinary, that is, not integrated across disciplines. Moreover, they have no integrity of their own. Another simplification, which can be especially damaging, is to leave the preparatory task to a group of enthusiastic, often young, faculty who clamor for it and have the energy, but lack the standing and organizational relationships which could bring departments together. In one case, a man just back from overseas training took the lead and secured top-level support for developing a new program without even acknowledging long-established population teaching and research in two departments and including them in the program.

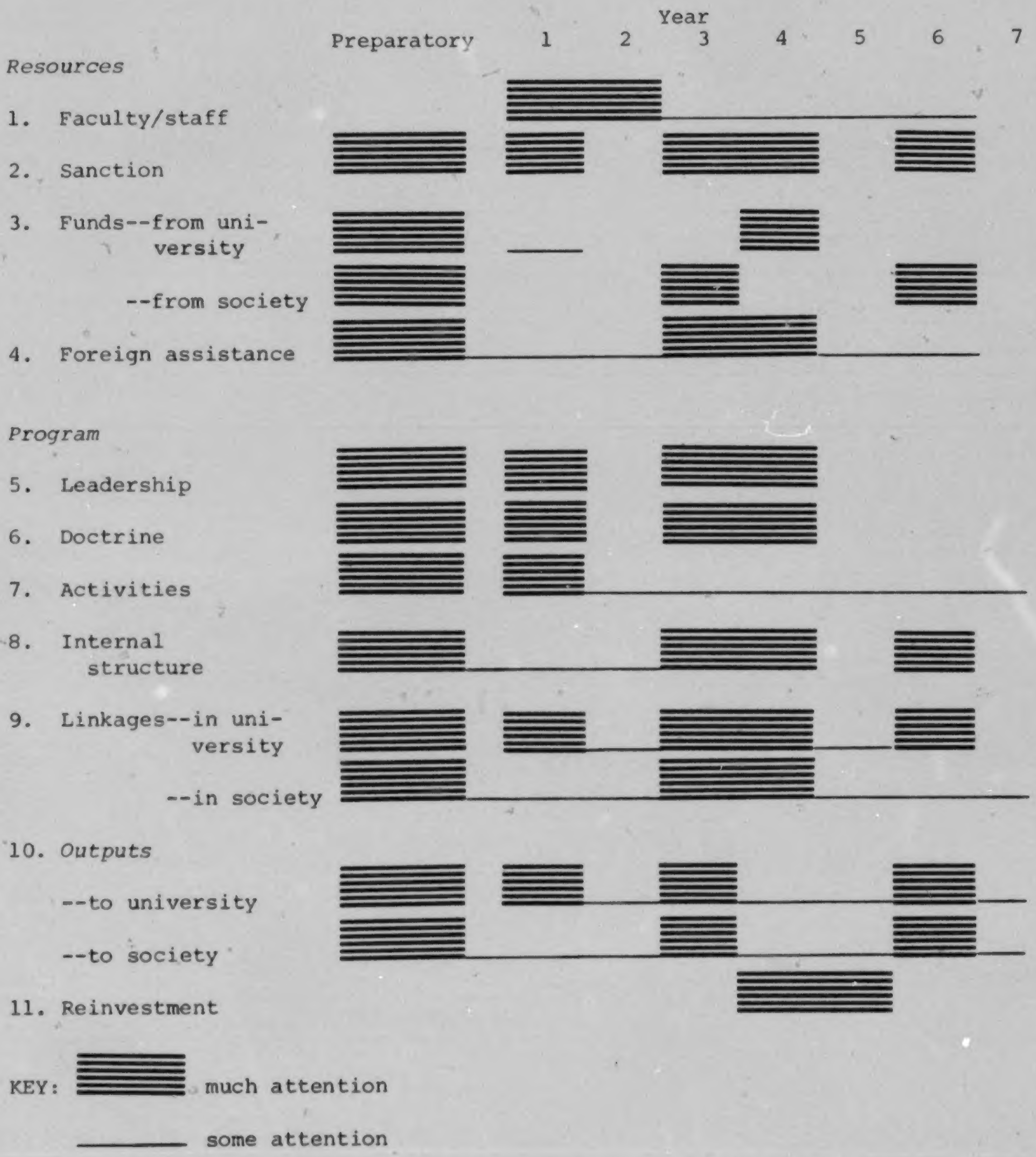
The first step is to articulate the major components, each intricate, and issues involving them:

1. *Program structure*, specifically the issue of inclusion: which disciplines, old and new, are to be included

2. *Program linkages*
    a. To connect the departments and schools new to population work with others which are already engaged in some
    b. If the program is to be field-oriented, to bring in outside agencies to help develop true priorities

3. *Program doctrine*
    a. To construct a mission that reflects the interdisciplinary field-oriented character of the program, the working style required for this, and sets realistic priorities
    b. To give the program a suitable image

Box 4.6. DEVELOPMENT MAP 3: INTERDISCIPLINARY PROGRAM COMPONENTS REQUIRING ATTENTION, AND WHEN



SOURCE: UPP Study, 1972.

4. *Sanction*, to establish specifically what kind of program the university as a whole will tolerate and support, immediately and also when long-term obligations are involved, including funds

The program described in Appendix F illustrates some of the classic dilemmas in this set and it is worth looking at the composition and activities of the initial committee to see what served well and what not so well. On the "well side," teaming sociology with medicine and public health from the first was surely strategic, and alternating the venue of meetings between sociology and public health was tactically sound. But overall, the "prime movers" got trapped into remaining the "insiders." For instance, they had three members each on the committee whereas schools and departments added later had only one; the first batch of decisions were all theirs, naturally, and covered expansion where it was easiest to achieve, namely along disciplinary lines, which left the less experienced and less committed latecomers with the difficult task of redressing the balance. (Where were the university's policy makers in this, or the funding agencies?)

Several programs, to show that they have university sanction and to secure the substantive involvement of various departments and real interdisciplinary commitment, have found carefully organized concentrated events, like weekend seminars, very useful for major program planning and preparation. The most successful have had the participation of top leadership in the university and those in charge of funds and administration, leaders from one or two programs elsewhere who could speak from experience, one or two key public administrators who could speak of *their* needs and the heads of *all* disciplines to be involved in the program at some time, even far into the future.

Box 4.7 sets out the set of goals policy makers at one university specified for a series of weekend seminars.

Box 4.7. OBJECTIVES OF SERIES OF MEETINGS TO PREPARE INTERDISCIPLINARY PROGRAM (LATIN AMERICA)

Seminar/retreat-type meetings in which interested departments/persons in the university could:

1. Share their perspectives of what a population program at the university might cover and do

2. Establish some priorities to complete the tasks started at the retreat and to develop a strategy agreed on by the participants

3. Provisionally agree on an organizational design--a program, a center, or whatever is in line with the agreed on strategy of action; clearly this needs to involve department chairmen and university administrators, as well as key faculty

UPP Study, 1972.

5. *Leadership.* A most difficult component, because candidates for interdisciplinary leadership are so few and the temptations to bypass or postpone the issue so many; settling on a director and constructing the complex kind of leadership required is most important (see chapter 3, p. 74ff).

6. *Funds and foreign assistance.* After funds for planning, development funds need
7. to be assured for the early years so that initial arrangements can be adequately tested and adjusted in practice; this essential "inside work" will not get done if it is a sideline to expanding activities

8. *Activities.* Two principles seem important:

   a. To have enough activities to give the program mission substance and to test out internal arrangements (but not more, at first)
   b. To include interdisciplinary work among the program's early activities and to concentrate publicity, evaluation, and review on these

As interdisciplinary programs get under way, primary attention needs to shift between key components many times, to and fro. Different combinations and interplays become important. For instance, impasses are reached in developing formal structures when further elaboration is tedious and dysfunctional and some joint experience is needed instead to clarify the next developmental steps.

Box 4.8 shows a series of decision points for programs of this type.

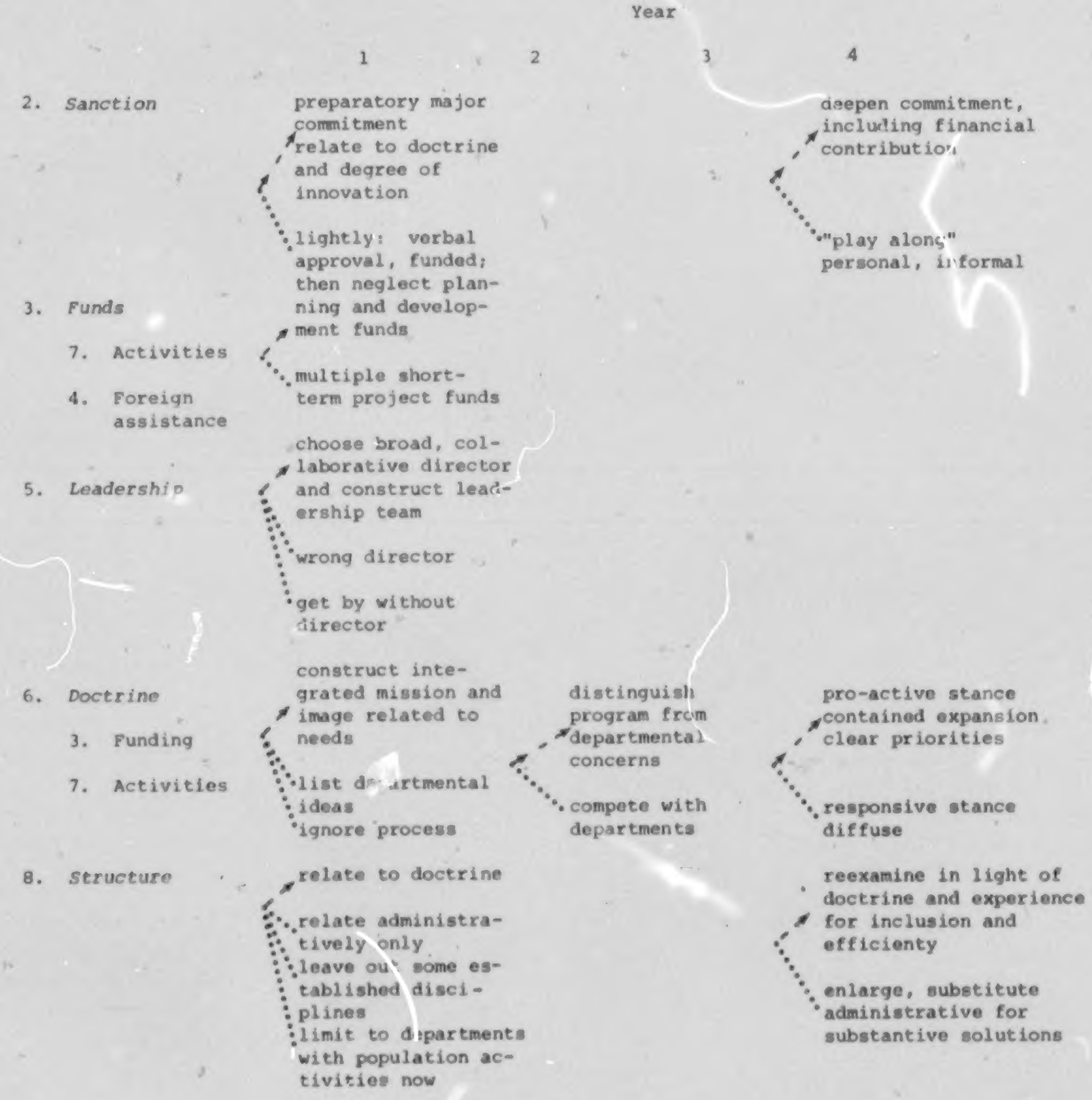
Next, if the work of preparation and the first year has been well done, interdisciplinary programs have a period of "working themselves out."

Reviews in Years Three to Four and Six to Seven. It seems that program development at this initial level of activity is in a precarious balance, and that falling away from it on either side is both common and precipitous. To one side are overloaded leadership, inadequate policy formation, neglect of linkages and governing structures, diffuse activities, increasing dependence on one or two funding agencies, inept administration--finally, open crisis. To the other are loss of momentum and failure to fulfill the initial promise--a slow demise.

Either way, a first round of major reviews and reorganizations are common in the third or fourth year. They depend for success on tracing dissatisfactions with program operations back to inadequacies of *policies, structures,* and *leadership.* They usually lead to only minor adjustments, such as adding one or two departments which had been left out, adjusting some administrative arrangements (usually in the direction of standard university practice), and, depending upon where the program fell down, setting new priorities for working on linkages and outputs to the university or to outside agencies.

Major changes in program leadership and structure usually come three years later, from greater pressures than these early ones. In the interim programs continued to expand too rapidly or to focus on outside agencies or international work more than their universities were willing to countenance, and this despite the minor adjustments in doctrine and structure which usually followed the earlier review. This time major steps are demanded, concentrating on program governance and leadership. In several instances a new program director takes over.

Box 4.8. DEVELOPMENT MAP 3: INTERDISCIPLINARY PROGRAM DECISION POINTS



Year

1 2 3 4

2. *Sanction*

- Year 1: preparatory major commitment relate to doctrine and degree of innovation
- Year 1: lightly: verbal approval, funded; then neglect planning and development funds
- Year 4: deepen commitment, including financial contribution
- Year 4: "play along" personal, informal

3. *Funds*

   7. Activities

   4. Foreign assistance

- Year 1: multiple short-term project funds

5. *Leadership*

- Year 1: choose broad, collaborative director and construct leadership team
- Year 1: wrong director
- Year 1: get by without director

6. *Doctrine*

   3. Funding

   7. Activities

- Year 1: construct integrated mission and image related to needs
- Year 1: list departmental ideas
- Year 1: ignore process
- Year 2: distinguish program from departmental concerns
- Year 2: compete with departments
- Year 4: pro-active stance contained expansion clear priorities
- Year 4: responsive stance diffuse

8. *Structure*

- Year 1: relate to doctrine
- Year 1: relate administratively only
- Year 1: leave out some established disciplines
- Year 1: limit to departments with population activities now
- Year 4: reexamine in light of doctrine and experience for inclusion and efficiency
- Year 4: enlarge, substitute administrative for substantive solutions

KEY: - → - → likely to be sound

.... unlikely to lead anywhere

SOURCE: UPP Study, 1972.

Program Development in New Universities

Of the many new universities in Africa, Asia, and Latin America, only a few are new in basic design and orientation. For program development this is an important distinction. Most are preoccupied with establishing the traditional basic curricula for a flood of students coming for basic degrees. Indeed they feel an extra need to be like the older universities. For this majority the earlier maps for population program development are therefore appropriate. Universities in focus in this section set out to be different, new in *that* sense. There are three such among the 25 in our sample, all founded or completely changed in character in the last 20 years.

Common to these programs is that they recruited faculty from different disciplines directly into the UPP (even if joint appointments were arranged later), and that they maintained their liveliest contact in the university with the very top, and, outside the university, with high levels in government and international agencies abroad. This was heady stuff, very satisfying to the enthusiastic pioneers whom these universities brought in, many with recently completed overseas training. Individual experimentation and distinctive and well-publicized new program thrusts, such as novel family planning services, characterize these UPPs. Organizationally the common tendencies to incoherence and waste have been strongest here, while competition for the rector's attention has also been most severe. The common result has been that policy makers in these new universities, finding themselves in the midst of so many preoccupations of their own, have been inclined to let the program run on somehow, and this inclination has been extra strong where programs brought in "their own" funds.

At the beginning all parties to the process have seemed to manage somehow, by working to exhaustion, gaining much personal satisfaction along the way, and sorting out conflicts ad hoc sufficiently to keep moving. This describes the honeymoon period and it may stretch to several years as other pressing problems, construction, faculty housing, student unrest, or funding preoccupy policy makers. But these things change later when the population program bumps more and more often into other programs which are equally determined to have their particular way, for example, community medicine or fieldwork for national development, or when public agencies which are unable to get the UPP "to do" enough or become dissatisfied with the kinds of services furnished threaten to remove funds. The pressures on university policy makers then mount to something more substantial and lasting.

The usual first step then is the kind of intensive review noted for years three to four and six to seven in the case of interdisciplinary programs in established universities (p. 115). Issues of university *sanction* and program *structure* and *linkages* come up first but they lead quickly to program *doctrine*: What does the population program really mean to the university? How does it relate to other units and programs? What are its priorities or work, its public image, and its norms of operation? And the kinds of pain that then occur are similar to drastically changing a single discipline program into an interdisciplinary one (see p. 104). Invariably UPP governance and leadership change, and usually a new program director has been appointed.

After the upheaval, the development map and decision points are like those for interdisciplinary programs (Boxes 4.6 and 4.8), large UPPs, as these three were.

BASIC RHYTHMS, THEMES, AND VARIATIONS

Across the many differences between population programs around the world, even across different types, are some suggestive uniformities of developmental rhythms and themes. Program effectiveness seems to show a regular rhythm, for instance. Program directors regularly report first an initial spurt, then a plateau or decline in the third or fourth year, followed by another upswing. Asked to identify factors that might account for the periodic spurts, they have pointed to new funds as giving the program its initial spurt, and to program leadership for keeping it going (or not). Without strong program leadership, the spurt quickly ends; with strong leadership it has commonly lasted to the third year. Then, review, reassessment, and often reorganization seemed to be required before programs became more effective again. The restraints on effectiveness mentioned most frequently for the early years are lack of trained personnel, inadequate internal structure, shortage of general development funds, and various problems of "interfaculty relations," in that order. As actions were taken on one, the next seemed to move to the fore.

Similar themes too are evident over the whole range of programs; only their sequence seems to vary somewhat with type of university and leadership style. There are six themes, and they deal with the scope of the program, its administration, planning, policy, and leadership. Identifying them systematically may serve as a useful summary for this part of the chapter.

Establishing Program Scope

Three themes are involved with establishing the *scope of the program.*

Inclusion. The first is the inclusion theme: What parts of the university will be in the program, and which parts out? The most common variation on this theme has been to start with existing population activities and interested people and move outward, and by successive bites include more and more activities and people, testing for sanction and funding along the way. In time, maybe several times, the result has been embodied in statements and restatements of program mission. This variation then runs like this:

Activities --→	Structure --→	Sanction --→	Program mission
	Linkages	Funding	Image (doctrine)

This sequence, which comes easily to the ways of scholars and universities, has characteristically run into growing problems around internal structure and linkages within the university. As the program secured funds and gained prominence, people and departments left out initially have pressed to be included. Commonly they insisted that the new program be "properly" defined as regards boundaries, activities, size, etc., and that it define itself and come under "proper" university governance. It is on these components of the institution-building map that the third-year review then concentrated.

The second variation, which is easiest for new universities, nearly reverses the above sequence. It starts with scanning the needs which a program might address inside and outside the university, then successively identifies existing and new activities, tests these for sanction and funding, shapes a UPP doctrine, and extrapolates from this doctrine the structure and linkages for the program:

Outputs --→ Sanction --→ Doctrine --→ Structure --→ Activities
(Potential) Funding Linkages

Basic Studies, Service Activities, Outputs. The other two themes in this set are about including and interrelating in the program both basic studies and service activities and also outputs to the university and to society at large. These themes overlap. Both have tension built in, and so also alternate fugue-like and tend to end with one side or the other dominant.

These themes come up in reverse order for traditional academic universities and for universities with a strong service orientation--agriculture, technology, and (in some cases) medicine. Programs in academic universities need to counter strong tendencies which could confine them to basic studies, tendencies which are extra strong in universities organized in departments and schools. There successful thrusts outward have been made early and with determination, otherwise they falter quickly. Tension builds around the simultaneous need to maintain the university linkages for creating commitments deep enough to sustain this broader program orientation. The reverse is the case with service-oriented universities, which have need to counterbalance outward thrusts by a determined look inward, to review experience, build concepts, and develop theory so that practice and teaching for practice could be improved.

Either variation has quickly become dominant: program sanction, funding, doctrine and image, activities, and linkages have all tended to develop and perpetuate the same theme. A change in either direction therefore requires extra effort: (1) in the new direction, to achieve the difference; (2) in the familiar direction, to avoid cutting loose from the base.

Administrative "Solutions" to Profound Issues. Another theme common to programs of different types is made up of the persistent attempts to settle by new administrative arrangements what are really conflicts in policy and organization. This theme starts up whenever real conflicts and tensions have threatened and people have tried to avoid instead of face and deal with them. Common examples are the tensions between outside versus inside program orientation, basic studies versus field services, and discipline versus discipline. Instead of taking the lead to appreciate such differences better and resolve or negotiate them, programs have tended to invent multiple ways to keep the conflicts at arm's length. They have assumed a brokerage role in the middle and swung with the prevailing pressures, between such poles as centralized and decentralized modes of internal structure or between consolidated and dispersed activities and contacts, and been inclined to negotiate series of (verbal) "settlements" with "difficult" parties which actually slide over the substantive conflicts. In this manner true clarifications have often been long postponed, and serious inadequacies persist--in structure, linkages, and program image.

Planning Versus Activities. A fifth general theme has UPP planning and policy formation fighting with program activities. The theme has three classic variations. One starts activities off fast. But the fast starters among activities are the easiest--and the easiest run along traditional lines--individual or disciplinary. These activities are therefore not good for UPP building, confuse program image, and scatter precious resources. The second variation holds off activities until plans are "complete." But no amount of planning can reach this blessed state, so the program has actually bogged down, wasting enthusiasm and essential innovative drives. The third variation keeps activities, once started, going full speed ahead instead of pausing from time to time for intensive reflection and internal reviews and adjustments of activities in the light of experience of program doctrine, structure, and balance.

The resolution of this theme lies in the early identification of a few activities by which the program can try out its wings and exemplify its essential nature, and then use them for more detailed work on doctrine, structure, and linkages. So in interdisciplinary field service-oriented programs such activities deserve funding more and earlier than in disciplinary projects. Activities that show results early and plainly are preferable to long-term incremental activities, and activities which test possible areas of conflict (on a small scale) are preferable to activities which avoid them, since learning is to be gained from them for use in the next round of policy making. Activities and reflection need to alternate.

Policy makers in a few programs have embodied this theme in guidelines for choosing activities or setting priorities. Examples are in Box 4.9.

Strong Program Leadership. Strong leadership is needed to assure the alternation between activities and reflection and also the longer-term changes in emphasis required in the successive basic phases of program development described earlier (p. 81). The essence of this theme is that program continuity depends on the presence of both activities and reflection and on managing the required changes through emphasizing now one, now the other.

Beginning with the start of the program or its review, the sequence in which the components commonly call for attention within any one phase of program development is shown in Box 4.10.

Box 4.9. INSTITUTION-BUILDING CRITERIA FOR CHOOSING EARLY PROGRAM ACTIVITIES: TWO EXAMPLES

The project would be completely consistent with the objectives of the Center . . . provide a focal point for identification with the Center for existing members . . . an operational example of the type of research activity the Center should be involved in . . . strengthen the Center's application for Institute status with the government." (Southeast Asia)

The "initial Program" has four components:

1. *A teaching program in population dynamics* giving visibility to the program and also providing a base for selecting institute staff (for advanced training)
2. *Research* directly related to the country's development, methodologically sound and productive, involving several dissertations and extensive publications by the program every year
3. *Documentation* developed as a distinct project concentrating on all books on population since 1928, all articles since 1952, abstracts every year, and bulletins detailing all publications about population received by the university library or the national library; a separate population library would focus on meticulous cataloguing of every population article and book as they appear
4. *Consultation* for its substantive value but also for international visibility and contacts, including contacts for future funding (West Asia)

UPP Study, 1972.

Box 4.10. BASIC SEQUENCE OF PROGRAM COMPONENTS FOR PROGRAM START AND PROGRAM REVIEWS

First Set →	*Second Set* →	*Third Set*
(Potential) outputs	Funds	Internal structure
(Potential) funds	Staff development	(Prototype) activities
Linkages--functional		Linkages--diffuse
--normative		
--enabling		
Program doctrine		
Leadership		

PROGRAM MONITORING AND EVALUATION

Development maps are good for setting the population program on course, for anticipating changing conditions and needs, and for choosing among alternate routes along the way. For actually *keeping* the program on course as it progresses something more is needed: monitoring and adjusting actual program performance. The analogy from navigation holds. Needed on a continuous basis are measurements of progress and of current conditions outside, scanning for significant indicators ahead, and recording regularly (in the equivalent of logbooks) indicators used, corrective actions taken and their consequences, and the use of all this information moving the program forward. Program evaluation is at best a periodic analytical summary based on good monitoring and is particularly important to sanctioning and funding agencies. Monitoring is, in the first place, for the program's own use more continuous, explanatory, immediately useful, and more productive of learning. It is the outcome of a reflective stance toward program development and sustains it, heightening the awareness of all involved.

Policy makers depend heavily on periodic evaluations, but the data on which these are now based are weak and misleading. In many UPPs this is due in the first place to long, drawn-out uncertainties about program goals, mission, working style, and other key components, and the consequent difficulty of charting a clear development strategy against which to measure progress and adjust for deflections from course. This deficiency is disabling and needs to be remedied first. It makes a great deal of difference, for instance, whether the program is primarily academically or service-oriented, for it will be evaluated by different standards (see Box 4.11) in each case.

Box 4.11. CRITERIA USED BY PROGRAM DIRECTORS FOR EVALUATING THEIR PROGRAMS AND THE CRITERIA THEY THINK VARIOUS OTHERS USE (1 = most frequent)

		Others in university		*Outside agencies*	
	Self	*Faculty*	*Administrators*	*Policy and operations*	*Funding*
Criteria					
1. *Past outputs:*					
Publications and reports	1	1	3	5	
Student numbers			2		
Student attitudes	6				
Practical usefulness	7			1	2
As evaluated by outside professionals			3		
2. *Current aspects:*					
Program faculty	4			2	1
Interfaculty collaboration	2	3	3	4	
Support in university	5			5	
Outside agencies' interest as evidenced by funding	3	2	1	2	4
Own interest					2

SOURCE: UPP Study, 1972.

But even where development maps and strategy are clear, two difficulties still remain. One is the common confusion between evaluating particular projects and evaluating the development of the program as a whole when the former may not even be a good guide to the latter, let alone take its place. The second is the failure on the part of policy makers in universities and in funding agencies to insist on a monitoring component commensurate with the scale and complexity of the program they are building and to allocate resources for this.

Box 4.11 shows the kinds of criteria program directors say they and others now use for evaluating UPP development and Box 4.12 shows the kinds of questions about five key components of program development which sound monitoring would throw light on. It is difficult to assess the overlap between the two but it does seem great. The criteria now used focus on UPP scale and general atmosphere whereas the questions focus on program workings and prospects. The criteria may identify some areas to concentrate attention on--except that according to the program directors, various parties to the process disagree over what importance to attach to different criteria. The questions, on the other hand, suggest specific directions to pursue in action. The criteria are judgemental, as most evaluation tends to be, whereas the questions are operational and stem from a concept of program development as a whole.

Box 4.12. QUESTIONS ON MAJOR COMPONENTS OF PROGRAM DEVELOPMENT

Program Leadership

1. How fragile or how well entrenched is the leadership in the university and with key agencies outside, politically? technically?
2. How deep is the leadership structure? one man or several?
3. How well integrated is the leadership, "of one man"? How well are conflicts aired and managed?
4. How bold and imaginative is the leadership in stimulating and rewarding performance?
5. How committed is the leadership to the innovative goals of the institution?
6. How well is the leadership linking the program into the university and to public and private agencies outside so as to enhance its usefulness and its success?
7. What provision is there for changing the leadership of the program?

Program Doctrine

1. Is the role for the program realistic--is it consistent with the real needs of the country, acceptable both inside the university and in the public agencies, and can it be staffed, funded, and organized?
2. Is the doctrine well articulated and known to all concerned?
3. Does the doctrine have the necessary innovative qualities that will permit the institution to effect changes in society? in the university?
4. Do administrative and professional staff understand and actively support the doctrine?

5. What are the social and political conflicts generated internally and externally by the doctrine? Are they being resolved?

6. What support exists for the program doctrine in the university and outside? How can this be built up?

Program Activities

1. How well do the activities express program doctrine?

2. How relevant are the activities to the country's needs, the stage of economic, social, and technological development in general and population policy development in particular?

3. How completely are the activities programmed? Are they planned in advance rather than ad hoc? Are they well balanced in the light of the mission as a whole?

4. How widely is the program of activities as a whole understood by the staff? How strongly are they committed to it, and to keeping various projects interrelated?

5. What quality and quantity of results can be produced by the intended program?

6. How far do the activities use the best technologies available to the university?

7. How well is the program of activities as a whole tailored to available resources so that it may yield important and visible results within an acceptable period of time?

Internal Structure

1. Does the structure facilitate planning, monitoring, and evaluation as well as the usual operating and control functions?

2. Does the structure facilitate program cohesion? Does it encourage staff commitment to the program's innovative doctrine?

3. Does the organization strike an appropriate balance between a sufficient "centralization of authority to provide leverage for change," and a sufficient decentralization to encourage ideas, decision making, and responsibility at various levels?

4. How well is the staff balanced, e.g., between chiefs and workers, operating and service personnel?

5. When difficulties occur can they be traced primarily to structural defects, personnel weaknesses, or conflicts which no amount of reorganization will cure?

Program Resources

1. What are the prospects for continued and increased financial support from the university and from the country? Are they commensurate with the requirements being built into the program?

2. What is the capacity of the staff to bring their full technical training to bear on the outputs of the program? Are they overtrained for the resources available? Are they too specialized for the tasks at hand?

3. What provisions are developed for upgrading the capability of the existing staff and for a continuing supply of new, better trained staff?

4. What provisions are made for maximizing the use of library facilities and the scarce sophisticated equipment and laboratory facilities within the program and the university? Does the management philosophy and actual operations of the program primarily protect and preserve these resources, or encourage their exploitation and utilization to the fullest possible extent?

5. What strategies are in operation for improving all categories of resources for the program, particularly staff and organizational capacity and outside contacts for future work and funding?

Adapted from Rigney et al., 1971.

Answering such a list of operational questions about program development by simple ratings is quick, makes it easy to summarize answers into an overall profile, and if done periodically can indicate progress over time. Box 4.13 shows such a profile for three evaluation periods.

Box 4.13
INSTITUTIONAL PROFILE

KEY:

E = Excellent
G = Good
S = Satisfactory
P = Poor
U = Unsatisfactory

Evaluation Periods

■ **1961**
▨ **1965**
░ **1969**

INSTITUTIONAL LEADERSHIP PROPERTIES	E	G	S	P	U
POLITICAL VIABILITY			▨	■	
PROFESSIONAL STATUS		░		▨	■
TECHNICAL COMPETENCE		░	▨		■
ORGANIZATIONAL COMPETENCE		░		▨	■
CONTINUITY				■	
DELEGATION CAPABILITY	░		▨		■
COMMITMENT TO DOCTRINE		░	▨	■	
SELF-IMAGE RELATIONSHIP TO INSTITUTION		░	■		
ESTABLISHMENT OF INSTITUTIONAL DOCTRINE					
HAS A CLEAR DOCTRINE BEEN DECLARED?		░	▨	■	
IS THERE AN INSTITUTIONAL COMMITMENT TO THE DOCTRINE?			■		
IS THE DOCTRINE UNDERSTOOD AND ACCEPTED AND CHAMPIONED BY KEY INSTITUTIONAL LEADERSHIP?			▨	■	
IS THE DOCTRINE CLEARLY RELATED TO THE NEEDS OF THE INSTITUTION?			▨	■	
DOES THE DOCTRINE ESTABLISH LINKAGES BETWEEN THE OLD AND THE NEW MEMBERS OF THE INSTITUTION--BETWEEN ESTABLISHMENT AND INNOVATORS?		░	▨	■	
HAS THE DOCTRINE BEEN LEGITIMISED AND SUPPORTED BY OUTSIDE PUBLICS?					■
IS THE DOCTRINAL THEME INTERNALLY CONSISTENT AND ARTICULATED BY INFLUENTIAL PEOPLE?					■
DOES THE DOCTRINAL THEME DISTRIBUTE BENEFITS WIDELY? PRIMARY STIMULUS OR COMBINATION OF STIMULI WHICH CONTRIBUTED TO PROGRAM DEVELOPMENT			■		
PROGRAM ANALYSIS					
EFFECTIVE ESTABLISHMENT OF OBJECTIVES AND CAPACITY TO IMPLEMENT OBJECTIVES		░		▨	■
ESTABLISHMENT OF PRIORITIES WITHIN ESTABLISHED OBJECTIVES		░	▨		■
CAPACITY TO MARSHALL AND ALLOCATE RESOURCES TO ACCOMPLISH OBJECTIVES		░	▨	■	
CAPACITY TO MODIFY PROGRAM IN RESPONSE TO ANALYSIS OF DEPENDABLE FEEDBACK OF EXPERIENCE			▨	■	
INSTITUTIONAL STRUCTURE					
EXTENT SERVICES ARE USED OR REQUESTED BY PUBLIC ORGANIZATIONS IT IS DESIGNED TO SERVE				▨	■
CAPACITY OF THE INSTITUTE TO SURVIVE --MAINTAIN AND EXPAND ITS DOCTRINE AND PROGRAM AND DISTINCT IDENTITY			▨	■	
EXTENT CAPITAL RESOURCES AND FINANCIAL RESOURCES ARE PROVIDED FOR AND EXTENT OTHER ORGANIZATIONS MOBILIZE INFLUENCE BEHIND THE INSTITUTION'S LEADERSHIP AND PROGRAM			■		
THE EXTENT TO WHICH THE PROGRAMS AND PERSONNEL OF THE ORGANIZATION ARE JUDGED TO BE SERVING ACCEPTED OR EMERGENT GOALS			▨	■	
EXTENT WHICH ACTION AND BELIEF PATTERNS ARE INCORPORATED IN THE INSTITUTION		░	▨	■	
THE DEGREE OF FREEDOM IT HAS TO IMPLEMENT ITS PROGRAM		░	■	▨	
THE CAPACITY OF THE INSTITUTION TO CONTINUE TO INNOVATE	░				■
INSTITUTIONAL LINKAGES					
EXTENT THE INSTITUTION IS LINKED FAVORABLY WITH ORGANIZATIONS AND SOCIAL GROUPS WHICH CONTROL THE ALLOCATION OF AUTHORITY, PERSONNEL, AND RESOURCES				▨	■
EXTENT THE INSTITUTION ENJOYS FAVORABLE LINKAGES WITH ORGANIZATIONS PERFORMING FUNCTIONS AND SERVICES WHICH ARE COMPLEMENTARY IN A IMPLEMENTATION MANNER				▨	■
EXTENT THE INSTITUTION ENJOYS LINKAGES WHICH SUPPLY THE INPUTS AND WHICH USE THE OUTPUTS OF THE INSTITUTION		░	▨	■	
EXTENT OF LINKAGES WITH OTHER INSTITUTIONS WHICH INCORPORATE NORMS AND VALUES (POSITIVE OR NEGATIVE) WHICH ARE RELEVANT TO THE DOCTRINE OF THE INSTITUTION				▨	■
EXTENT THE INSTITUTE ENJOYS LINKAGES WITH ELEMENTS OF THE SOCIETY WHICH CANNOT BE IDENTIFIED BY MEMBERSHIP IN FORMAL ORGANIZATIONS					■
MEASUREMENT OF CHANGE					
ESTABLISHMENT OF NEED AND CLIMATE FOR CHANGE		■			
TRANSFORMATION OF INTENTION INTO ACTUAL CHANGE EFFORTS		■			
STABILIZATION OF INSTITUTION FOR CHANGE		░	▨	■	
ACHIEVING EFFECTIVE TERMINAL RELATIONSHIP		░			

SOURCE: Eaton, 1972: 172.

The responsibility of policy makers in program evaluation is threefold: to check on program development through the types of questions they ask, to satisfy themselves that the answers are based on solid data rather than broad personal impressions, and to see to it that sufficient resources are allocated for collecting, recording, and using the necessary information.

Focus of Questions: Program Development. The problem here is to make development indicators concrete for the particular program and to displace with them the very partial and often misleading indicators of scale (staff and student size, funds, number of publications) usually used now. Various aids for this are available. Asking program leadership to report periodically on all 11 major components on the development map instead of on just two or three that they choose is a good start and possible in all programs. At the very least this will insure that all components will receive attention and encourage habits of seeing the components altogether as a pattern.

The strategic step is to set concrete goals for the development process for the particular program (two or more years ahead), identify what would mark progress toward them from time to time, and then check out whether this has been accomplished. Using some questions in Box 4.12 as examples, "How deep is the leadership structure?" can be translated into both a short-range and a long-range objective (e.g., "To identify and, if possible have ready for appointment, a candidate for one of these and a process started for identifying at least two more within the next three months"). In short, development questions can be made operational and intermediate objectives identified which are more useful as indicators of progress in program development than counts of current outputs or funds, but no less concrete.

Concrete Data. The task here is to improve on personal impressions. Aids are available, in the form of simple checklists and diagrams, and others can easily be developed when the focus is clear, such as maps of linkages of different kinds (see p. 61).

The strategic step is to require concurrent recording. *Logbooks* are needed to record current data, under standard heads where self-evident, unsorted where the connections and relevances are not clear but where something striking occurred. Keeping such a logbook can itself be a useful way for program builders to review current happenings, bringing them to mind a second time. But the *reflective stance* concurrent recording engenders in program leaders should go beyond their private learning to the establishment of regular occasions for reviewing events together and learning for the future. The process has the quality and procedure of a systematized quest, for example:

> Last week we decided to develop the contact with X agency (or Department Y or University Administration Z). We thought it would strengthen our work in direction A. How did it go? What happened? What can we now expect? When? Would we do it that way again or next time or in another connection too?

A pedestrian enterprise, true, but one familiar to serious scholars. It promises important clarifications eventually while providing immediate insights and heightened skills. It treats program development itself as a new field of knowledge in which regularities will in time stand out from individual observations.

This *Guide* marks a very early stage of this quest. Though it is based on information retrieved from personal recollections and unsystematic documentation and is therefore incomplete and inexact, some regularities have been noted and tentative generalizations drawn for use by policy makers and, I hope, program directors. Some common sequences have become development maps. Beyond this, some causal relationships have been indicated, for example, that interdependencies of different types are associated with particular forms and styles of management (Box 2.7, p. 61); that linkages need to be mutually advantageous, and linkages for different purposes are best kept separate (p. 60), and that autonomy of program funding, such as through outside, governmental grants, tends to breed autonomy of purpose which tends to set the population program apart from the rest of the university (p. 55). Some of these sequential and causal relationships may apply only to particular programs and situations (this is in itself worth knowing). But key aspects of the situation have also been identified and with that the situations have become comparable, thus opening the noted regularity to wider generalization, as is the way of science. From monitoring it is possible to see what works and what does not in program development, and so to learn.

Resources for Recording, Monitoring, and Reflecting on Program Development. These are unfamiliar activities to most program directors and faculty, and the very idea of them may be distasteful: program directors want to be left alone, "to get on with the job." The very notion of others looking at what they do may strike them as restrictive, likely to hamper their style. In these feelings they are no different from other practitioners, above all those engaged in creative or pioneering activities. The trouble with that attitude is that developing a population program clearly too complex to be managed safely and economically on personal intuition alone. The key components are too many and their relationships too complex. Experience with programs so far proves as much. So the task is to make monitoring itself more manageable. It is important, for a start, that policy makers attach importance to monitoring, make their views known and behave in accordance with them through the questions they ask and the kinds of reports they require and insure that these activities have sufficient resources allocated to them.

At the working level the strategic step is to make monitoring more familiar and manageable. Short seminars can help UPP directors, perhaps together with policy makers, become familiar with concepts and schemas of program development and therefore with what to look for and record and also with the simple maps, checklists, and other aids which can make regular monitoring much easier. Experience in fields other than population suggests that, even then, keeping personal logbooks and other simple records requires at least an hour's work a day. People who have tried it find even this substantial expenditure of time worthwhile because it seems to result very quickly in substantially surer and improved decision making and operations.

What program leadership cannot do is to monitor how *others* perceive the UPP and its development, including the actions of the leadership itself. Yet this is of great importance. For it a separate monitoring capacity needs to be provided, and funded, in the program, consisting of one or two faculty members who are particularly interested and trained to collect, analyze, and report on these data from within the UPP, in the rest of the university, and in public agencies and places of influence in the community and country outside. This unit in the program needs adequate secretarial help and facilities. A four-step training sequence has been developed (Box 4.14), and six of the 25 programs have indicated their interest in developing a monitoring component on this basis.

Box 4.14. FOUR-STEP SEQUENCE FOR DEVELOPING PROGRAM MONITORING

1. Selection of one or two faculty members by each participating program (e.g., in one region)
2. Training sequence for a group of monitors together, rather like an apprenticeship, starting with some initial conceptual and methodological clarification followed by supervised practice
3. Monitors return and start functioning, having some "supervision" by the training institution, through regular reports and as required
4. Systematic review by initial group meeting together from time to time for improvement, step by step

The training is initially a two-week long basic workshop, and two five-day workshops later during the first year.

UPP Study, 1972.

Criteria for Institutionalization. Finally, and of particular interest to policy makers in the university and in funding agencies, an initial series of criteria has been worked out which looks useful for assessing the progress programs are making with becoming properly institutionalized. These are set out in Box 4.15.

Box 4.15. CRITERIA FOR ASSESSING HOW FAR THE PROGRAM HAS BEEN INSTITUTIONALIZED

Institutionality as suggested by the use of services and products offered

1. Its graduates were employed in positions related to their training, that is, in education.
2. Its graduates were placed in positions from which they were able to exercise authority or influence, thus enhancing probability of norm diffusion.

3. Its graduates received salaries at least comparable to those accorded competing job candidates.

4. Its students were supported financially by units within government or the educational establishment which hoped to use their services.

5. Its leadership was called upon to serve in advisory or decision-making capacities within the educational establishment.

6. Its programs, physical facilities, and services were requested and/or used by a wide range of publics.

7. It conducted research, the results of which were requested or used by other units within the educational system.

8. It became a functional and articulated link in educational flow patterns.

Institutionality as suggested by verbal approval

1. Respondents in the educational system stated explicitly their satisfaction with the University or the College.

2. Potential students indicated their preference for attending the University of Nigeria rather than other universities.

3. Respondents named the leaders of the College as being among the most competent Nigerian educators.

4. Graduates of the University or College were judged favorably by employers, principals, or colleagues.

5. University leaders outside of Education expressed their satisfaction with, or approval of, the College of Education, its leaders, and its programs.

Institutionality as suggested by survival and growth

1. The innovations originally envisaged had been either implemented intact or modified into programs which still represented significant change in the environment.

2. Innovative programs or functions pioneered by the College have been transferred to other organizations which might more appropriately perform them.

3. The structure, programs, and policies of the parent organization (the University) had developed in ways which supported, promoted, or exemplified the norms and values of the College.

4. Both programs which were derived from the original values of the College and the resources for implementing these programs have maintained a priority position within the University or have grown quantitatively.

5. The College has revealed innovative thrust, that is, the capacity to develop new and originally unforeseen programs and priorities.

Institutionality as suggested by the support given an organization

1. The University provided the College with the resources the latter required to carry out its projected program.
2. Foundations, international organizations, and bilateral aid offices supported programs which were derived from College doctrine.
3. The Government or other Nigerian organizations undertook to support parts of the College program.
4. The University and relevant publics of the College exerted their influence in legitimizing College programs and mobilizing outside resources for putting them into effect.

Institutionality as suggested by the criterion of autonomy

1. The spheres of freedom granted the College were equal to those granted comparable or competing organizations.
2. *De facto* limitations placed upon activities were made by expertly qualified bodies or by bodies with legal jurisdiction and responsibility.
3. Limitations on action were made by bodies on which the College was itself represented.
4. Such limitations on freedom as were imposed did not impede or preclude implementation of doctrine through program.
5. Restrictions on freedom were not discriminatory in the sense of singling out the particular organization (the College) for restraint.

Institutionality as suggested by normative spread

1. Members of relevant publics came to approve the values the organization attempted to incorporate.
2. Official policy statements on education came to reflect the values and action patterns characteristic of the organization.
3. Values and action patterns which the organization pioneered became accepted to the point where they were no longer matters of public debate.
4. Other organizations came to incorporate these innovative patterns in their operations.

John W. Hanson, 1968.

CHAPTER FIVE CONTENTS

NATIONAL, REGIONAL, AND INTERREGIONAL NETWORKS 136

National Networks 136
- To increase the number of universities with population programs 136
- To clarify the role of universities in the national population effort 136
- To insure specialization 137

Regional Networks 137
- For experienced program directors 137
- To explore new thrusts in program development 137
- To augment the pool of expert resources 138
- To identify regional issues 138

Interregional Networks 138
- To provide strong international auspices 138
- To offset pressures against population work in countries which see the subject promoted by Western industrialized nations for their own benefit 138
- To move toward determining certain research priorities globally 138

NETWORK STRUCTURE, TASKS, AND ORGANIZATION 139

- Improve practice 139
- Create new learning networks and systems 139
- Develop and offer public training programs 139
- Develop and test better methods and mechanisms 140
- Develop and test new models of program development 140

151

5 Learning from Other Programs: Interuniversity Networks for Collaboration

Collaboration is important because there are few models of successful programs to copy and no assurance that their methods are widely applicable; the lessons of trial and error must be promptly exchanged internationally to save the critical element, time.

Rutherford M. Poats, 1972:115

We must be realistic about "networks." There are simply too many and there is too much overlap. . . . There is too much interaction without enough action.

U.S. Program Director, 1973

The case for devoting precious time and attention to population programs in *other* universities than one's own has to be very strong. Population program directors and senior faculty who have had solid experience with UPP building are so few, and they are so relentlessly in demand for international meetings and projects that their own programs often suffer. Far from hindering program development, the case for collaboration must be that more contact between UPPs would help it, directly and in practical terms.

Judging from the experience with the UPP projects, what program directors need is working contact over issues they actually face in developing their programs. "To tap experience of participating institutions for the improvement of our own program and its projects," "to give us a more realistic perspective about priorities for action," to secure "information not now available . . . [including] models for program development for making decisions on basic strategy," samples how they put it. The contact needs to be between people "directly involved." The regional meeting of program directors, in West Africa in December 1972, from whose report we quoted amply in the Preface (pp. v-vii), considered in turn program mission, internal structure, "time dimension," and staff recruitment and retention, training, and development, and concluded that "professional dialogue among population institutions around the world" must be continued and developed. "Definite gains" were expected from information about:

1. "Effective program development to maximize use of funds, personnel, time, and other resources;

2. Exchange of information on programs and projects . . . developing later into comparative assessment of programs and projects, and the determination of priorities in these fields for the guidance of funding agencies;

3. The impetus such meetings give for self-assessment of the quality of programs and the quality of leadership being given." (Population Dynamics Programme, 1973)

NATIONAL, REGIONAL, AND INTERREGIONAL NETWORKS

Different purposes are served by collaboration between universities at national, regional, and interregional levels. In general, the nearer the contact is the more likely it is that experiences are relevant and repeated contacts easier and cheaper. Contacts further afield offer new perspectives and opportunities, for example, anticipating new emphases and directions for program development when national population policies change or universities are reorganized. One dilemma from having so few programs around the world thus far is that contacts between them have been necessarily distant and discontinuous, eagerly wanted and yet disappointing; they could not speak to immediate needs. With more programs started, regional and national contacts and collaboration have also become more feasible and useful: the way has been paved for collaboration between programs in broadly similar conditions, but not (necessarily) in a single country. In pleasurable anticipation of many more programs developing, the important step is to pinpoint what can realistically be expected from contacts and collaboration at different levels.

National Networks

Three primary purposes have been identified for national networks:

1. *To increase the number of universities with population programs.*

This purpose puts the one or two experienced programs in the lead for furnishing information and providing help to interested newcomers. This is an acceptable role where two other purposes are also made explicit:

2. *To clarify the role of universities in the national population effort,* above all with governmental agencies.

In many countries time is running out for university programs as responsible ministries are going ahead to develop much-needed activities under their direct control, for instance through categorical funding to nursing schools for training specified levels of family planning staff or through setting up their own training and research departments or ancillary institutions. Yet the inclusion of population matter in the curricula of medical and paramedical education, population education for teachers, and research to clarify population policy and to improve program operations are candidates for university programs.

3. *To insure specialization* so that different universities can concentrate on different aspects of the broad task and the country's universities *together* can provide comprehensive coverage.

In some countries one or more interuniversity bodies already exists for just these purposes, for example, the University Grants Commission as in India, or a National Committee of Rectors as in Turkey. (The formation of at least one such body was provoked by needs in the population field.)

Even under the least favorable conditions much more capacity for important work on population issues than is now in play exists both in universities and in public and private agencies. A political commitment to support this work can free experienced and program-oriented leaders to sketch out national priorities and divide up the work among universities and other agencies according to specialized competences and long-term interests.

Since national networks concern themselves with particular national context, are funded locally, and usually work in the national language, they receive little notice abroad. But their development is most important and heartening.

Regional Networks

Four primary purposes have been identified for regional networks:

1. *For experienced program directors*, "to increase the coverage, sophistication and economy of the leading programs" under broadly similar conditions. (University Population Programs, International Study Group, 1973)

Regional networks of program directors are in fact essential for providing the very minimum collegiate context for population program development. In their absence the collegiate relationships which this very small and scattered number of pioneers have are too limited: they are only with faculty in the particular overseas program (usually a school or department) where they obtained their own advanced degrees or with others in the same discipline, such as the Demographic Associates in Southeast Asia. These relationships serve for disciplinary refreshment and updating, but only marginally if at all for program development. The next step, effective and economical in time and money, is to add more program development concerns to such disciplinary relationships and to associate UPP directors in the region from other disciplines and from interdisciplinary programs.

2. *To explore new thrusts in program development*, particularly in order to relate university programs more closely to national programs.

The 1973 International Study Group meeting in Iran allocated this purpose to the regional level in order "to avoid parochialism; so that university population programs become aware of choices in program development beyond time-honored ones in their countries and in particular university conditions." They might have added time-honored relationships between governments and universities to the list, for these are often characterized by estrangement and by immediate obstacles like student unrest and political activism. Fresh experiences under the similar conditions of neighboring countries stimulate imaginative decision making more powerfully than do mere ideas from afar. For bringing government agencies and universities permanently closer together, a promising model may be the recently formed Association of Asian Agricultural Universities, which meets annually, together with government representatives, on issues of institution-building and of priorities in research and teaching; and consequently, in funding from government sources.

3. *To augment the pool of expert resources* for help with new or faltering programs.

Some countries still have no university program at all and so need access to UPPs elsewhere for their own very start. These can learn more, and more quickly and cheaply, from experiences of program(s) next door than others halfway around the world. In addition, there are many more countries with one or two programs and these often still young. These embryo programs are not strong enough yet for helping additional UPPs develop, particularly if pressures for doing so are sudden, as is commonly the case when new population policies come into force and when university programs are put on the agenda of some interuniversity body and offered funds. Also it often is easier to accept help from programs in *other* countries than one's own in the region because they do not compete for the same funds and public standing in the country.

4. *To identify regional issues* to work on in university population programs and to share this work out among universities in the region. Some very important issues in population are intrinsically regional rather than national: migration, employment, and professional manpower development are important examples under this heading.

In some regions appropriate interuniversity and intergovernmental mechanisms exist for collaboration for these purposes, for example, in Southeast Asia the Regional Institute for Higher Education and Development and the Inter-Governmental Coordinating Council, headquartered in Malaysia. Others are coming into being in connection with population programs, as in West Africa.

Interregional Networks

Interregional networks have three purposes:

1. *To provide strong international auspices* for university population program development everywhere and to link this work into existing international associations concerned with university development and into the international agencies, particularly of the United Nations.

2. *"To offset pressures against population work in countries which see the subject promoted by Western industrialized nations for their own benefit."* (University Population Programs, International Study Group, 1973)

3. *To move toward determining certain research priorities globally*, in particular biomedical research in contraceptive technologies and other basic research for which personnel and facilities are very scarce, and in all fields for which conditions do not vary decisively between regions, such as some kinds of migration.

Appendix G lists the main interregional agencies concerned with various aspects of university population program development.

NETWORK STRUCTURE, TASKS, AND ORGANIZATION

Interuniversity associations, like others, tend to have a star-shaped pattern of relationships: a central institution mounts the energy to collect and send out information to member institutions, organizes programs, and calls meetings, takes substantive and organizational initiatives, develops outside linkages and maintains relationships on behalf of the whole network. Little attention is given in this model to developing the contacts at the periphery, between the member institutions themselves. Program directors in this study consistently stress their need for the opposite model, in which initiatives and contacts would be mostly at the periphery, or at least in regions, with a central secretariat providing services to the network.

This preference is quite realistic in terms of the characterisitcs of population as a field of study outlined in Box 1.2 (pp. 18-19); also in terms of the potential energies and contacts in fact available for population program development and tne existing knowledge and experience base in most countries. Regional funding of regional events and small regional program offices would make this concept real. To move in this direction involves resolving the usual issues of consortium-type organization: sorting out functions between the periphery, regions, and center and developing enough cohesion and identity for the network as a whole to attract and retain personnel and funds.

With this approach five tasks can be identified for various levels of association and often for several levels working together:

1. *Improve practice* (and increase knowledge of practice) in programs, universities, and interuniversity networks.

While it is individuals who learn, these individuals can be so concentrated organizationally and set to helping each other that learning affects a whole program, university, and the networks.

2. *Create (and help others create) new learning networks and systems*, to permit types of concerted action not possible alone.

Emphasis here is on temporary associations: these networks are conceived of as being analogous to "project" teams, which have specific goals and disband when the goals have been achieved. A consortium for helping design and start up a population program at a particular university is an example.

3. *Develop and offer public training programs* for continuing education in program development.

This is especially important in population because the field is so new and methodologies and technologies are changing so fast that programs have to maintain an unusually high capacity for change.

4. *Develop and test better methods and mechanisms* for scanning the university and country environments on behalf of population programs in the network.

Popular parlance credits skillful practitioners with a sixth sense of knowing when a terrain is "safe" or dangerous," of being able to "smell" when something is going to happen. The task for a network is to alert member institutions to analogous capacities and to help them use and share important advance knowledge. Program monitoring, improved contacts and indicators in the environments, and meetings to share information and methodologies are important means for performing this task.

5. *Develop and test new models of program development.*

Work in population program development can help bridge gaps between needs, activities, and capacities which are common around the world and involve at least three dimensions: philosophical, hinging on values; motivational, hinging on emotions; and operational, hinging on methods. The parenthetical phrases in Tasks 1 and 2 in this list, which point to increasing knowledge and creative capacity, could have been repeated for each. Inventiveness, testing, organizatonal regrouping, monitoring and continuing education must become commonplace.

As it is, a second generation of programs may be emerging. Two of the 25 universities which started their population programs only recently seem to be setting about it in significantly different ways from their predecessors. Both these programs are broadly interdisciplinary. One, in West Africa, is essaying a consortium-type organization between departments and schools involved, directly under the vice-chancellor. It is a loose association of organizational equals and depends on shared leadership and flexible information and other resource flows. The other, in Latin America, has the population program as the first of a set of programs in a new Faculty for Interdisciplinary Studies which is to pull together faculty and facilities from across the university for *all* graduate studies.

Encouragement and support for innovative stances in any connection is stratigically important, and it can flow consistently and efficiently from continuing associations of interested universities. The need for an association with the specific task of helping universities develop population programs seems to be strong at this time. Whether or not it needs to be permanent remains to be seen. Meanwhile it can be linked into broader existing interuniversity associations.

Appendixes

A Five Basic Types of Population Programs

TYPE 1: DISCIPLINARY ACTIVITIES CARRIED OUT IN A DEPARTMENT OR SCHOOL

These activities offer population as a new subject for study and some service. They are common in the disciplines of sociology, demography, maternal and child health, and in public health in general; more recently also in geography, economics, political science, and law. They focus on the aspects of population accessible to the particular discipline, such as migration, family planning services, or the economics of population growth. Methodological studies and other basic research are mostly done in existing departments. These activities result in new knowledge and in scientific papers for professional colleagues. All are traditional outputs from a university and are associated with traditional considerations such as tenure appointments and advanced degrees.

These activities therefore raise virtually no special difficulties for the university beyond those associated with developing *any* new program. The one exception is difficulties which often arise when faculty consult with other agencies, on an individual basis. This tends to make excessive inroads into faculty time and attention available for teaching and research, and to lead to difficulties within departments in scheduling primary programs. But even these difficulties, and ways of handling them, are likely to be known to the university from analogous experiences with consultation practices in schools of business administration and of medicine.

In short, this type of activity is well within the goals and ways of working of all universities. Like other university programs, these are designed to contribute to a developing country program only indirectly, through advancing the frontiers of knowledge and generally educating the country's leaders.

TYPE 2: MULTIDISCIPLINARY ACTIVITIES USUALLY CARRIED OUT BY SEVERAL DEPARTMENTS OR SCHOOLS

The activities in this set are more attuned to some of the complex realities of population policies and program operations than those of the first, but they operate abstractly, on the whole, by means of simulations and models rather than live contact with population issues "in the field." They provide obviously useful outputs: professional manpower, better data, policy studies, and a more informed future leadership, of whom some may go further and choose work in population as a career. In countries where population is a controversial subject these activities may expose the university to the excitements and travails of public leadership.

The possibilities of public controversy aside, the complexities reflected in the specifications and resource requirements for these activities lie primarily inside the university in the twin areas of professional manpower and university organization. Low quality applied work, particularly research, cannot establish or preserve high standing in the university, but, in many countries, competent and experienced people in applied work are particularly scarce.

Organizational issues arise from the fact that these activities do not fall snugly within the disciplinary schemas of faculty members and of the organization of most universities and may therefore encounter difficulties of staffing and of relations between departments and schools. These difficulties are aggravated by the continuing weaknesses in conceptualizing the population field and its links with other fields of study and national policy, such as national resources, national strength, quality of life. Loose conceptualization results in vague program content and in difficulties when it comes to insuring the program continuity across the inevitable failures and disenchantments. In other words, while these activities call for the work together of several disciplines, just *how* multidisciplinary (or interdisciplinary) they have to be is not clear; and so well-established tendencies to avoid unfamiliar and time-consuming collaborative arrangements often assert themselves.

All this goes on behind the walls of universities. Outside, the purposes of these activities are well accepted as proper to universities, indeed commendable in a low-key kind of way. When faculty members and students appear in public it is to carry out field studies or to contact some policy makers. Both are familiar, understandable activities.

TYPE 3: INTERDISCIPLINARY TEACHING AND RESEARCH

These activities come about when the university involves itself in current issues and in the changing field of pressures and resources of operating agencies. Their outputs are very important, for example, population manpower for senior positions, help with program operations, population education in schools on a large scale, and policy-oriented research.

Activities of this type strain the university--its leadership and senior faculty, interdepartmental relationships, administrative arrangements, and often space and other facilities. Even the few new universities which incorporate activities of these kinds in their original design do not avoid these difficulties; they do have an easier time managing them, if they use the opportunity to organize faculty and staff, internal structures and administration, and students and community to support interdisciplinary teaching and research. The basic problem with these activities is that the primary purposes, urgencies, and turbulences of public action are hard to mesh with the continuities necessary for sound education and research.

In return, these activities provide important services to the country, put universities which engage in them in the line of public prominence, extra funds, and influence, and engage students in challenging and stimulating work. Moreover, getting interdisciplinary faculty groups together to deal with common curriculum design problems usually aids in many ways to develop mutual respect, knowledge of other disciplines, and increasing familiarity with the perspectives they traditionally bring, and so on, and serves as a useful step toward greater institutional integration.

The biggest advantage the field-oriented, often newer, universities have in developing these types of activities is that for them this orientation is central to their picture of a university, whereas in the more narrowly academic universities this orientation is often an accretion from the outside, an undesired accommodation. In the latter case, two sets of staff, administration, funding, and space tend to separate out which place primary emphasis on one or the other type of activity. And the relations between them tend to be distant, sometimes hostile, and uneasily held together by top administrators.

Conflicts become more marked as teaching and research activities phase into service programs. But service demands, which do not respect disciplinary boundaries often force interdisciplinary working and organization when the lesser pressures of interdisciplinary teaching and research would allow universities to postpone the central issue.

TYPE 4: INTERDISCIPLINARY, LIMITED SERVICE PROGRAMS

Service activities involve a close meshing of university programs with the needs of operating agencies and, in the case of prototype service programs, with the needs of a population at large for population services. These activities are immediately "useful," patently so--they include trained operating personnel, technical assistance, and services delivery. So funding of them is usually not in question--in principle, that is. There are important practical difficulties which point to some underlying difficulties universities experience with these types of programs.

Service programs take much time and effort to develop and, when they are underway, commit faculty and other resources for long periods. Technical assistance, and, even more, direct services also tend to demand attention at short notice. This immediately makes problems for the management of teaching and research responsibilities at the university. But the basic influence is more subtle: faculty members who are drawn to these programs soon have their minds on them above all else, and if this is not managed well, they often lose sight of the university's primary purposes--of translating the insights from "problem-focus decision-making" into generalizable research, conceptual work and theory building, and teaching. They become more like practitioners with university titles than university faculty. A university which allows this to happen has been captured by the operating agencies, or at least its program has. The divisive tendencies in all this are obvious. They exist most strongly if the university takes full charge of providing population in a service area, for then the service needs (instead of the operating agencies) become determining. Unless, that is, the university asserts its primary purposes and deliberately trades off service needs X in Y amounts for, say, A research and B opportunities for student field placements. If the university shields itself, through some manner of indirect or experimental arrangement from the direct impact of services needs, faculty research and training tend to become increasingly specialized and unrelated to normal operating conditions; in that case the university has overwhelmed the purposes of the operating agency. For the time being, that is: communities which have enjoyed special services from a university are later reluctant to accept public services at ordinary standards.

Strong leadership to build clear policies and priorities is the most important requirement for marshalling and developing university resources for work of this type and for offsetting these divisive tendencies. More adequate *funding* than is common comes next. Program development funds are needed which last at least five years and so allow the employment of additional faculty and staff, the development of new administrative arrangements, and the incorporation of a new program into the university's own development and funding strategy. Short-term project funds are needed *in addition*. Alone they are a lot of trouble to secure, breed great uncertainty at renewal time, and commonly only result, when "successful," in additional work for the same faculty and administrators working under unchanged conditions. There is also the problem that the more separately this type of program is organized in the university, the less inclined operating agencies are to pay for general university overheads as part of their contracts.

A third safeguard is to limit service activities in *size and duration*. The dimensions must be determined by the universities' primary contributions of better understanding through research and better teaching. As regards size, it is best to settle on a *minimum* area which faithfully samples the normal conditions for delivering the services in question, not the maximum that the university could manage if challenged. An analogous limitation applies to experimentation and research: contrary to the endless scholarly pursuit of knowledge, no greater sophistication and elaboration of research is appropriate for prototypical services than the operating agencies are likely to be able to use. This limited basis may insure that faculty members lose interest in these activities when new learnings from them dry up and the work becomes routine. That is the appropriate time for them to concentrate on training others and on technical assistance to help operating agencies develop their own services on the new lines. It is the university's business to insure this shift of resources and in time to discontinue its involvement.

Limited service programs promise great benefits to the university as well as to the country, hence their attraction to many universities, even those which appreciate well the difficulties service activities entail: high visibility for the university's public service, and, in the light of this, support for the university's roles of assembling and upgrading the country's professional resources and making them available to the country's over-worked policy makers and administrators and of systematically studying and experimenting with new models for action.

Service activities certainly take the faculty realistically into the field to be conversant with practical issues; ideally this will influence their teaching as well as their research. Placement of students for practical experience, clinical practice, and field research is usually also possible, though opportunities for this tend to be fewer than usually expected because of the complexities and high risks involved in many service situations. Prototype service programs offer the most promise for satisfying service, education, and research priorities, because the university is fully in charge and so can insure better than in situations of lesser control that its various priorities can all be met.

TYPE 5: FULL-SCALE SERVICE PROGRAMS

If so many difficulties are involved in developing even limited services activities of direct use in the country, then some universities conclude that they might as well invest the same or only a little more effort in developing a continuing full-scale service program. This argument has a lot to be said for it, all in fact that can and has been said for having teaching hospitals attached to medical schools and for analogous arrangments for social work, psychology, and public and business administration. The combination of service priorities--which now *have* priority--with education and research raises, of course, more sharply the difficulties already mentioned for all service activities, particularly those in the last set. But managing it is made easier by the permanence of the service program and by the special funding it obviously requires on a continuous basis.

As a rule of thumb, it is the *scale* of the service program, such as the size of the service area, which the university should determine in the light of its primary interest in education and research. "Full-scale" from that point of view means a service program no larger than the needs for student placements and research opportunities warrant. Public image and visibility, the conerns and enthusiasms of program staff, and optimal economics and administrative size, all continuously threaten to seduce universities away from this golden rule and often result in quite inordinate struggles to keep the university and its service program coordinated in a useful fashion.

Separate incorporation of the service program helps mark its distinctive character for the university and for the public, and can provide very helpful flexibility for staffing and administering the service according to its particular needs. The same considerations prompt some universities to avoid getting into the business of running service programs themselves. Instead they enter into special arrangements with service programs of other agencies which can provide similar opportunities for research and education for both faculty and students without burdening the university with different and possibly disruptive service activities.

B Linkage Issues in Programs of Different Types

WITHIN-DEPARTMENT PROGRAMS

Departmental programs involve no particular structural or funding accommodation on the part of the university.

Enabling Issues

Issues of legitimization arise around limiting the amount of time which interested faculty should devote to outside consultation and the possible proliferation of new courses and other activities in population. Should student enrollment size be the major criterion for accrediting new courses in population, or should there be some other, more qualitative index? Should there be a requirement that faculty consultation undertaken for extra remuneration must involve students and thus contribute to the educational function?

Still another perspective concerns the enabling powers of the population program itself in promoting what are essentially within-department project activities. A university-wide committee may be the organizational form used by a program charged with responding to departmental proposals as well as with initiating activity in the population field. The problems here are those of establishing justifiable and equitable procedures when, for example, a request for a single proposal comes to the university administration and there is no clear basis for responding other than allowing individual departments and faculty to submit ideas.

Functional Issues

Because these programs primarily involve individual faculty members or departments vis-à-vis the university administration and outside agencies (for research funding or consultation), a major issue is the support which the university gives to facilitate these individual efforts. In research, a recommendation of some merit is that the university include funding support in its regular budget for specific allocation to faculty interested in population research, teaching, and consultation. At least it can provide the administrative infrastructure for facilitating individual work. A responsible office of university research can be highly useful unless faculty view it as obstructionist and nonhelpful.

The main point here is that if a university develops a commitment to helping with the national population policy effort, it need not think immediately in terms of developing a large, prestigious center or institute. A careful appraisal and perhaps revision in the functional linkages between the university administration and faculty and departments who desire to reorder their research and educational priorities in favor of work in population needs first priority. Many faculty now feel no support from their own institutions when it comes to their individual efforts to develop proposals and new programs.

Normative Issues

Within-department programs can pose potentially difficult problems which are inherent in the university's commitment to faculty autonomy and control. Such an ethic requires the best possible system of open communication and mutual trust between faculty, departments, and administration. There have been instances when individual faculty research and service posed difficult linkage problems with the "normative constituency" of the university, notably in countries where population is still a controversial subject for study and action.

Diffuse Linkage Issues

The linkage problem is one of developing the means to publicize population work as part of an integrated effort on the part of the university. Because a service may be viewed as important by the public, the program may facilitate effective *diffuse* linkages for the university as a whole. There is obviously a trade-off involved here; however, the university might consider evolving a "knowledge use" mission, rather than either a research or service one that would allow the incorporation of both. From the perspective of the university as a holistic entity, the problem with individual, faculty-based efforts is that they tend to cause the university to lose some control over the management of its normative and diffuse linkages with society and government in the interest of maintaining the tradition of faculty autonomy and independence.

Two sets of basic questions arise for the university for within-department programs:

1. Does the university need to develop a coordinating structure for its population efforts in order to control its transaction with groups and organizations that are likely to involve emotional rather than economic reactions (normative) and issues of political and public support (diffuse)? Is the likely cost of individually oriented programs, which follow previous university traditions and values, likely to be some measure of faculty and departmental autonomy?

2. What should be the responsibility of individual/departmental population programs to the university as a whole? Conversely, what is the university administration's responsibility for promoting future efforts in conjunction with government and other population organizations, given that the program is within a department? Has the program developed on this limited basis by choice or

does it represent some abdication on the part of the university of its duty to think through strategically what its role as an institution should be?

PROGRAMS WITH LARGE-SCALE SERVICE ACTIVITIES

The large-scale service programs are often at cross purposes with university traditions and values and the linkage issues they face are severe.

Enabling Issues

The legitimization of these programs must come from several sources. Educational activities which cut across disciplinary lines, or, to take an extreme case, the design of a new degree program in population studies or population policy analysis and administration, requires enabling linkages with several departments and professional schools. A board of advisors to the program consisting of representatives from these units is a useful first step for providing these linkages. But the existence of such a body does not suffice. Problems with enabling linkages (as well as with normative and diffuse ones) continue to arise if the mandate of board members is unclear and if they fail to keep their departments fully informed about the development of the program or to negotiate continuing departmental support for it. In the case of large-scale service activities, which have the strongest tendencies to assume independence from the rest of the university, a collaborative and effective interdisciplinary effort may depend on clear decisions to accept enabling linkages for educational and research activities with the rest of the university.

Functional Issues

Particularly helpful for our understanding of the functional issues in programs with large service activities has been John P. Crecine's (1971) analysis of similar issues in the case of the Policy Sciences program he directed at the University of Michigan.

The three issues that seem most important are: (1) form of faculty appointment, (2) financial relationships, and (3) curriculum control. For purposes of analysis of alternative organizational forms, Crecine defines each of these variables to be two-valued.

1. Faculty appointments:

   --*Joint*. Program shares salary costs with disciplinary unit. Ultimate responsibility for salary and promotional decisions rests with department or school.
   --*Independent*. Appointments made by program, which also has ultimate responsibility for salary and promotional decisions.

2. Financial arrangements:

--Budget a composite of outside funds from contract research, with some regular university support, and institutional development grants (*soft* funds), a volatile financial situation.
--Budget largely consists of regular university funds, considered a normal part of university operations (*hard* funds), a dependable source of funds.

3. Activities control:

--Dependent on activities in departments; programs have control over activities and staffing only at the discretion of departments.
--Independent, internally designed and operated activities; program has ability to make appointments and staffing decisions.

The advantages of independent faculty appointments are obvious. In the case of newly-recruited faculty, the program has only to find a man to satisfy its constraints and to fulfill its objectives. But in academia, knowledge and people are organized by disciplines. If a faculty member advances, it is through his discipline. His job mobility and status are almost always governed by his discipline. For the individual, membership in an interdisciplinary organization brings with it the risk of being cut off from his reward structure and eliminating his job options. Assuming that most members of university programs see their careers as being in academia, it is clear that the fledgling UPP can offer no acceptable substitute for the disciplinary reward structure. Since the inclusion of a variety of disciplines is essential, then consideration of the relationship of the program to these traditional disciplines is of prime importance. Even with the ability to make independent appointments, the program would be well advised to take advantage of the quality control functions disciplinary units perform. This might be accomplished through a system of courtesy appointments, if the disciplinary unit can be persuaded to take its advisory role seriously.

A joint appointment system, nowever, raises some interesting and potentially disastrous organizational problems, especially when funds are short or highly variable. Here the program is not only asking the department to exercies a quality control function but is also asking it to agree on priorities. For example, should one use a department's limited recruitment budget to obtain a management science type with public sector interests or a development economist, etcetera? Still, on the average, *joint* appointments have enabled many programs to recruit higher quality faculty than they could have done independently.

One point is worthy of specific mention: joint appointments whose funding is all from soft grants awarded to the program. Problems arise when the definition of tenure in these cases is raised and when the department in which the appointment resides expects a regular teaching input from the staff member. It would seem most appropriate that where regular departmental duties are expected and there is no question of the academic acceptability of a staff member to the university as a whole (in particular, the department), the university should be expected to provide hard funds for the appointment.

It seems to be in everyone's best interest to have strong and active participation on the part of the disciplinary unit in the quality control function of the program. This would also argue that all faculty should have at least a courtesy joint appointment. Whether a formal joint appointment is the prevalent arrangement, even where independent appointments are possible, seems of less importance and probably is best left to the wishes of the individual faculty member. On the other hand, where serious differences exist between the need priority lists of the UPP and departments, some provisions ought to exist for making the program appointment anyway--such as an ability to make independent appointments or, in the *joint* case, the ability to transfer funds to the department to cover the salary of a particular person.

From the standpoint of program integrity, hard funds are always preferable to soft funds. Soft funds usually make it impossible for the unit to make the kind of long-term commitment to a faculty member it expects from him. The communication problems of interdisciplinary work also require continuity that only hard funds can provide. If a case has been made for a program with large service activities, it also is a case for regular university support. The relationship of type of funding to the educational program will be discussed in more detail below. Many examples exist of the depressing effect of contract research on research quality in the absence of university support flowing on a continuous basis into the program through well-functioning functional linkages.

If it were possible to piece together a curriculum containing the requisite knowledge components from existing courses in a university without requiring students to go to school for several extra years, most of the arguments for a population program would disappear. In fact, however, disciplinary courses are organized for transmitting and advancing disciplinary knowledge. What is important for a student of population is seldom sufficiently concentrated in a single course. In other cases the emphasis is misplaced.

Program activities need to be under the control of the program, not the departments, and to have control over activities means to have control over staffing. In an area without adequate texts and without a tradition, the usual informal controls found in most disciplines are missing, and the time-honored disciplinary controls are not necessarily good models to try to copy in programs of this type. A coherent curriculum requires close supervision. Important implications are that (1) departments usually treat the program as peripheral and that (2) without substantial control on the part of the program the coherence of its activities tends to disappear; without a measure of control, all conflicts get settled in a disadvantageous way. The cumulative effects of the inevitable compromises required in a *dependent* curriculum status therefore tends in a few years to destroy the coherence of the program itself.

Basically, out of eight possible combinations of appointments, funds and control of activities only four are at all promising for the long run:

	Appointments	*Funds*	*Control of Activities*
1.	Joint	Hard	Dependent
2.	Joint	Hard	Independent
3.	Independent	Hard	Dependent
4.	Independent	Hard	Independent

Options 1 and 3 are not viable if the program loses to departments control of both educational and research activities in the program, because service activities are then residual and low-status, that is, out of its control too. In fact a dependent control status in either should only be accepted in return for independence in the other. The alternative is to drop that activity, even at the cost of restricting the area of contact with the rest of the university, perhaps retaining a simple administrative function of channeling interested program faculty and students to courses on research opportunities offered in departments. Option 4 is viable only as long as both the program and the departments are strong and competent in negotiating trade-offs and value their exchanges; this calls for unusually well-functioning linkage mechanisms. Where any one of these conditions does not exist, a force quickly starts which pulls program and university apart at an accelerating rate and is very difficult to reverse.

Option 2 finally looks most promising for programs of this type, depending on the satisfactory resolution of issues concerning joint appointments and well-functioning linkage mechanisms for resolving any conflicts as they occur in daily practice. Programs which have hard funds and independent control of their activities actually have some extra degrees of freedom in the matter of faculty appointments. They can use funds to secure *joint* appointments even outside departmental priorities as long as these appointments meet departmental notions of quality. Or they can make these appointments *independently* as long as they satisfy disciplinary quality control functions and also successfully resist internal pressures to create their own disciplinary subunits.

In the long run the key element of survival for an interdisciplinary program is the successful maintenance of disciplinary relations. This can only be done by making faculty appointments in the program that are *clearly* of high quality in disciplinary terms. This means the potential appointee must satisfy two sets of constraints, both the program's and the department's. There are very few people to choose from who satisfy both sets of requirements; the demand is much greater than the supply. If the market were not constrined by disciplinary equity considerations, salaries for this small stock of people would rise. As matters stand now, staffing a quality population program is extremely difficult. In terms of psychic satisfaction, working conditions, and research appointments, as well as in monetary terms, rewards will need to be high.

Functional linkages with professional schools interested in population studies --public health, urban and regional planning, social work, business administration, education, or law--present extra problems and opportunities. They are natural collaborators because of the compatibility of their missions. The most natural form of collaboration would seem to be of an ad hoc nature; whenever a seminar or research project in the program touches on a question in the domain of a school, attempts should be made to include the relevant professional faculty. Otherwise the danger of developing a rival activity increases and it is difficult to conceive of a situation where it would make sense for a program to encourage this. On the contrary, the possibilities for *joint activities* with professional schools are great. The inclusion of special concentration areas in the program consisting of courses taken in the appropriate activities already carried out which link faculty and students with professional schools seems like an eminently sensible form of collaboration.

Normative and Diffuse Issues

The issues can be summarized in two principles:

1. The more innovative the program within the university, the more autonomous the UPP needs to be. And the more autonomous the program is, the more difficult and important are the linkage issues.

2. The larger and more diversified a program is, the more it needs to develop diffuse linkages and the more opportunities it usually has to do so.

While these principles seem clear and this clarity is useful, the design and operation of mechanisms for normative and diffuse linkages have as yet received little or no systematic action.

C Foreign Funds and Their Use: Faculty Development, Consultation, Project Support, and Facilities

PROGRAM FACULTY AND STAFF

Most foreign funds are used (1) to create faculty and staff positions, (2) to provide advanced training for personnel, and (3) to employ foreign faculty while permanent personnel are in training. These funds are usually classified as program development funds, but they may also come as part of project funding (e.g., see chapter 3, pp. 88-89).

For the first purpose--creating faculty positions--foreign assistance provides seed money, just as within-country funds could if the program were able to secure them. Why the program could not secure funds for this purpose locally is an important question to face. The difficulty ought to be strictly temporary if the program is to use foreign funds safely for this purpose. For foreign funds can only provide, before they properly cease, a first demonstration of the program's usefulness, perhaps, or a prompt start to the work while in-country funds are delayed until the next budget, or until some expected clarification of policy or legislation.

The following extract states the central issue in a West African university:

> Some people are clearly attracted by the availability of money. But the funding is set up in such a way that it is a very quickly disappearing kind of money. In other words, it is money to start things, and gradually the University has to pick up the expenditures under this program. Some department chairmen saw quite clearly that if they got involved in this they needed to have the assurance from the administration that this would not be a short-lived thing--that in other words, the Vice Chancellor and the academic boards or whoever makes the allocations would indeed follow up the initial investment which would come through the outside funding.
>
> The Vice Chancellor, on the other hand, looks on this problem in a much more generalized way. He says that this process is certainly in accord with his overall plan to increase graduate education and research at the University. He has not, at this stage of the game, come out and said, yes--if you appoint a person from department X to be an Associate Director of this project, after two years I will give one more faculty slot to this department. But I think that certainly the more perceptive of the department chairmen have pretty well seen it. They say: "Now look, for me to really commit myself to this, I am going to need this sort of backup from my own University."

The use of foreign assistance for *overseas training* and for bringing foreign faculty in to work in the UPP meanwhile is essentially different, since building the program's initial capacity is clearly a temporary phase and the bulk of expenditures are in foreign currency. The distinction is clearest and the situation altogether most promising where the university goes on record with its long-term commitments in the assistance agreement itself. For instance, the agreement can state the university's intention to allocate X number of faculty and staff positions to the program as soon as people return from advanced training.

Faculty development is a temporary phase, but it is not a short one. One West Asian program had two foundation grants of $300,000 each for it over six years. Foreign faculty meanwhile developed and taught the basic master's course program, which was also the primary selection mechanism for program faculty; conducted, supervised, and published research together with students; and altogether functioned as senior program faculty.

CONSULTATION AND ADVISORY SERVICES

The purpose here is different from using foreign funds to put a foreigner in the place of a national faculty member for an initial phase of program development. This is so even when the consultant/advisor and foreign professor are the same person--as was the case in the West Asian example. There, one of the two foreign faculty members continued as advisor for several years after his faculty function was over. He visited the program regularly once or twice a year, was available to the director and faculty members by correspondence, acted as contact in the United States for the later groups of faculty members and staff coming for overseas training, and consulted with the foundation and other funding agencies on matters affecting the overall development of the program.

Other programs have advisors from the outset, some full time, some from time to time. Some advisors take part in program activities, others do very little or none of that. Full time advisors are usually charged with broad program development responsibilities. Some make themselves also available to other programs in the country or region. Or, they are charged with responsibilities for faculty and staff development as an alternative or addition to advanced training overseas.

Using foreign advisors for faculty development right in the program does not seem to work well as a main strategy, though it seems attractive and logical to train faculty and staff "on the job." The explanation for the difficulty is not clear. Accounts suggest that effective staff development strategies for a program require more protection against the usual norms of personnel selection, appointments, and promotion prevailing in the rest of the university than can be provided right there. They also suggest that advisors tend to get increasingly occupied with program activities, particularly those involving outside agencies and fieldwork. Either they then get sucked into a directing role, thus reducing local staff to the advisor's assistants and so to high dependence, or they hold back from "directing" and "doing" in favor of maximizing initiative and direction by program staff to such an extent that program activities suffer; this then sets low standards of quality or quantity of work, which run quite contrary to good faculty development somewhat aptly, like the following description by one advisor:

> My approach to advising on research was based on the assumption that staff members should learn as much as possible about research methodology. I attempted to become as involved in the research as possible without actually directing or doing the research. This stemmed from my belief that the staff members would not develop sufficiently high levels of research competence if the advisor did the research. Thus I have offered my comments and suggestions on the methodology of all the research, but have attempted to refrain from doing it myself (with the exception of the excess pregnancy paper, which I did myself). In some cases I provided more direction than is desirable; in others I have been able to achieve limited input. Much of the interaction has been face-to-face advisor-researcher communication, which has frequently been supplimented by written memoranda. I have also encouraged staff-to-staff consultation throughout the year as well as suggested that staff members discuss their research with persons outside the center.

On the whole, disenchantment with long-term advisory roles seems high and increasing. Unless an advisor is very experienced and senior (and there are few of these), UPP directors believe themselves and their senior colleagues to have as much or more program building experience as the advisors they usually get. They feel that any special advice they need would be better provided through short consultations with a series of specialists than through one or two resident advisors.

Increasingly therefore, advisory services are just one item in broad interinstitutional arrangements, which, for instance, link a university receiving foreign assistance with another which can offer a broad range of expertise and specialist resources. In such an arrangement, a representative of the foreign university may be available on the spot, as a senior colleague and advisor to the local program and also, of great importance, as diagnostician, planner, and manager for the additional resources the home university and other foreign sources may provide as needed under this arrangement.

PROJECT FUNDS

Project funds are common in foreign assistance, both by themselves and as part of a broad assistance package. Two versions seem most effective. One is as seed money, such as funds to start some new kind of research. In many cases, quite small amounts of money, carefully allocated, have stimulated key faculty members to engage permanetnly in population studies; and this in turn has resulted in very desirable spurts of population work as well as in better anchoring the program in the university. Further, the wish to influence the allocation of funds has stimulated the development of interdisciplinary research committees and other useful program mechanisms.

The second type of project fund which has often been effective uses foreign assistance to link universities into international research. This type has spread high professional standards of work and may be most valuable for that. A common complaint is that international projects, with their accompanying travels and contacts, often divert the attention of the program director and key faculty members from the more urgent, exacting, but perhaps pedestrian, needs of their own countries and universities. And this possibility is doubly real and damaging since the group of international population scholars is still very small and since the same few people become internationally involved over and over again. Some prominent programs have encountered serious opposition in their universities and their countries for the high priority they have placed on international work.

At the other end, that of the funding agencies or universities interested in providing project funds, processes of securing applications and reaching funding decisions often lead expectant programs to vacillate wildly between high expectation and deep disappointment. In several cases, program development has been badly damaged by this, as the following extract from Southeast Asia shows:

> . . . the goals of the center were specifically focused toward research on the organization and delivery of health and family planning services. The primary purpose was to develop more scientific knowledge of health and population dynamics, as needed for effectively realting health policies and programs to the needs of the population.
>
> There was feeling that legitimately to request institute status the center had to be involved with a major research project that would demonstrate its potential to the National Council. Although the center had been largely viewed with skepticism by the Ministry of Health because of its inactivity in the past, a meeting was held between representatives of the Ministry and the center to discuss potential research interest. Several areas were outlined involving an evaluation of the condom as a potential contraceptive method in the country, an assessment of family planning field workers and a study of the comparative effectiveness of priority items by the Ministry for research in the third five-year plan initiated in 1971.
>
> Simultaneously with these exploratory efforts between the Ministry and the center, a request came from the collaborating U.S. university for the center to submit a research proposal that could be funded from abroad. This was seen as a windfall for both the developmental efforts of the center and its request for institute status and also for its efforts to provide substantive information for the national family planning program. A research proposal to evaluate the effect of various types of family planning field workers was quickly formulated and submitted to the U.S. university for review.
>
> Work proceeded on the development of the field worker evaluation project throughout the spring with high expectations of the U.S. university funding no later than June 1, 1971. However, that university had also just selected a long-term resident advisor to provide guidance in institutional development and approval for him was pending with the authorities. As a result a considerable delay occurred as the university attempted to assess the implication of committing a considerable portion

of the advisor's time to the project. Then, the project was approved in July, but for only one year of funding and effective only twelve months later. Meanwhile, the Ministry saw this delay as confirmation that the center continued to be unable to meet obligations.

In short, foreign assistance endangers program development when it replaces local resources, when it belittles the importance of linkages with country offices, and when it is given on conditions which distract and unbalance development, by focusing it wrongly or by making the program too large, too prosperous, and too visible far too fast. The classic issues around program inputs--of focus, timing, balance, and control--become vastly more complex when foreign funds are involved, and "advisors" increase the dangers from them unless they are particularly aware of the problem.

LIBRARY AND EQUIPMENT

The fourth common category of foreign assistance, "things," is the smallest and usually the least difficult and controversial. The provision, through foreign assistance, of a basic population library has probably exceeded any other project in precision, immediate and long-run usefulness, and economy. The Population Council early developed a standard basic library which it has provided as a package to budding overseas programs even when no other foreign assistance was envisaged at the time.

Equipment is more complex and sometimes controversial. Some funding agencies are constrained to providing only equipment from their own country, which is often not the most available or economical for the particular program or for available maintenance, etc. More basic is the tendency for programs to ask for more sophisticated equipment than would be best for the quality and quantity of work in the foreseeable future. This issue arises most often in connection with data processing equipment. A collusive situation tends to arise in which the program and the funding agency end up agreeing that only the "latest and the best" will do and the equipment is used more for bolstering the program's self-image and public image than for useful work. Such an error has unfortunate effects on many other aspects of UPP development, such as staff development, relations with the rest of the university, and norms of work and cost consciousness within the program.

D International Funding Agencies

Agency for International Development (AID)

Office of Population
Department of State
Washington, D.C. 02523, U.S.A.

Gives strong institutional support both to U.S. and developing country institutions. Helps to provide operational research, evaluation studies, personnel training, and consultation services.

Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East (ECAFE)

Sala Suntitham
Bangkok, Thailand

Involved in service/fieldwork, training, research, teaching, mass communication/education, evaluation, and administration in the area of interdisciplinary population studies.

The Ford Foundation

Population Office
320 East Forty-third Street
New York, New York 10017, U.S.A.

The Population Office was established in 1963 to coordinate the population-related activities of the Foundation. Since 1968, more and more assistance has been channeled to developing country universities. Grants are made primarily to institutions for experimental, demonstration, and developmental efforts that are likely to produce significant advances in educational facilities, including university curricula, organization, and management.

International Planned Parenthood Federation (IPPF)

18-20 Lower Regent Street
London SW1Y 4PW, England

A union of around 60 autonomous national family planning associations begun in 1952 with the main purpose of assisting in the devlopment of private family planning associations in all countries. They do fund specific projects other than support of family planning association, basically in encouraging and supporting the training of medical and paramedical workers. They sponsor workshops and seminars; and promote and organize international and regional meetings and conferences.

Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD)

Population Division--Development Centre
94, rue Chardon-Lagache
Paris XVIe, France

OECD has a four-point program: (1) information exchange, (2) organization of conferences and seminars, (3) research development, (4) activities leading more directly to the development of cooperation and coordination. Any assistance will not duplicate efforts by other international organizations.

Pan American Health Organization (PAHO)

Department of Health and Population Dynamics
525 Twenty-third Street NW
Washington, D.C. 20037, U.S.A.

Provides technical and financial assistance to programs requested by member nations; main concerns--family planning, maternal and child health, and population dynamics activities.

The Pathfinder Fund

850 Boylston Street
Chestnut Hill, Massachusetts 02167, U.S.A.

Concentrating on grants to developing countries, this medical research and service organization sponsors innovative family planning service programs, new approaches in research and development, population education and communication projects, and leadership training.

Population Bureau

Eland House, Stag Place
London, SW1, England

Established in 1968 under the auspices of the Overseas Development Administration of the British government, the major interest is assistance in population work to the Third World--Asia, Africa, etcetera. It encourages training and research and helps to provide operational and advisory personnel for these programs.

The Population Council

245 Park Avenue
New York, New York 10017, U.S.A.

This is a center for collection and exchange of information on significant ideas and developments related to population questions. It has three divisions--demographic, technical assistance, and biomedical. In the past, grants have been made to national centers of population studies and to university departments and study centers, sometimes to individuals.

Population Crisis Committee

1835 K Street NW
Washington, D.C. 20036, U.S.A.

A private, nonprofit organization established in 1967 to promote public understanding and action in the face of the world population crisis. The Committee helps to raise funds for nongovernmental agencies, national and international.

Population Reference Bureau

1755 Massachusetts Avenue NW
Washington, D.C. 20036, U.S.A.

The Bureau works to focus public attention on the facts and implications of trends in population growth. The Division of International Programs focuses primarily on special problems of Latin America.

The Rockefeller Foundation

111 West Fiftieth Street
New York, New York 10020, U.S.A.

The Foundation's purpose is to promote the well-being of mankind, including the solution of population problems, and to strengthen emerging centers of learning in the developing countries. This is done primarily through grants to universities, research institutes, etcetera. *No* grants are made for building, operation of local institutions, or personal aid to individuals. Research training and experimental programs in a broad range of fields relevant to population are financed.

The Simon Population Trust

141 Newmarket Road
Cambridge CB5 8HA, England

This trust supports projects which may promote understanding of world population and resources, and encourage research, education, and other efforts to adjust population to resources.

Swedish International Development Authority (SIDA)

105 25 Stockholm, Sweden

Most grants so far have been to developing countries for family planning, but some are now being directed toward research and training and fellowships.

United Nations Fund for Population Activities (UNFPA)

485 Lexington Avenue
New York, New York 10017, U.S.A.

The Fund supports all aspects of population work and assists developing countries with high population growth rates and low national incomes in solving their population problems. U.N. Resident Representatives play a key role in grant acceptance, considering the merits of the grant request and the standing of the requesting organization.

World Health Organization (WHO)

CH-1121
Geneva 27, Switzerland

Affiliated with the United Nations, this organization is involved in service/fieldwork, training, research, and teaching in the field of Public Health.

E

Field-Oriented Population Programs Based in One Discipline: Two Examples

INSTITUTE OF POPULATION STUDIES (DEMOGRAPHY--SOUTHEAST ASIA: EDITED FROM DOCUMENT)

The Institute has a threefold purpose:

1. To promote public and official awareness, interest, and knowledge about population matters in [X____]

2. To train persons in [X____] to conduct demographic studies in both the applied and scientific spheres

3. To expand the store of knowledge about the population of [X____], including the relation between population factors and various social and economic conditions

Major efforts have been made by the Institute in performing its first function from the beginning. The Institute has cooperated closely with various government and private agencies in dissemination of knowledge on population and educating the public and policy makers on the population problems facing the country. Institute factulty are called frequently to offer advice and information to various government agencies.

Since the first group of 10 students enrolled in 1967, an average of 15 graduate students have entered the Institute program every year. Six or seven full-time fellowships, supplied with foreign assistance, are awarded every year. The rest of the students work full time in government agencies, usually doing work related to population. The M.A. degree is awarded after the student completes 40 credits of course work, passes a written and oral comprehensive examination, and completes and defends orally a satisfactory thesis...

The Population Research Program

The research activities of the Institute can be divided into four categories:

1. Working as consultant to various government agencies in their population research projects

2. Carrying out research projects as requested by other government agencies

3. Assisting the graduate students in conducting small research projects

4. Carrying out the Institute's own research projects

Instead of fragmenting its research efforts into several small investigations, the Institute has chosen to develop one large research project, called the Longitudinal Study--or, more fully, the Longitudinal Study of Social, Economic, and Demographic Change in [X____]. Supported by a succession of grants from abroad, it is being conducted in annual stages. . . .

Experience of the Institute of Population Studies in Population Research

In setting up the Insittute of Population Studies, the organizer faced various problems delaying its full development. The Institute was the first official research organization ever set up in the university. Effort was made to adopt the contemporary basic principles of a research organization into the framework of the well-established organization with a long history.

The Institute was set up initially as a small research center in 1966 by order of the Prime Minister, to prove its viability and help the public understand how such a center could contribute to national development. As long as it had only semi-independent official status, the center could only receive a few categories of government financing, and its staff was officially on loan from other units in the university. When, in time, the center was recognized as a viable scientific research organization important to the development of the university and the country, the proposal to set up the Institute of Population Studies was submitted and approved by the national Cabinet, in compliance with the University Act. The Institute of Population Studies became an official organization in 1970.

Financial support has not been a major problem facing the Institute. From the beginning, it has been fully supported by a consortium of international agencies. However, the fact that the Institute during its initial period was not entitled to receive government funds in certain categories, especially civil service salaries, made it very difficult to recruit highly qualified staff members.

The scope and amount of work has been gradually expanded, which brings increasing demand for staff members. Since only a small number of highly trained persons in this field are in the country, and they are already committed, the Institute has trained its own staff and sent a number of very able staff members for further training abroad.

Various government agencies are aware of population problems and recognize the importance of the knowledge gained from population research. The Institute has been requested by most of the agencies concerned to cooperate with them in various activities. The Institute has been given responsibility for a number of population research projects for government agencies. Staff members are appointed members of advisory committees and consultants for various agencies. The research findings of the Institute are used and incorporated in many agencies' plans of action, including the National Social and Economic Five-Year Plan. However some agencies which should use the Institute's service still do not. The Institute accepts as its responsibility informing government agencies of ways Institute service will be useful to them.

The Institute has available for distribution a series of publications, including reprints of staff articles, papers presented at professional meetings, annual reports on the center's program, and abstracts of master's theses. The Institute inaugurated a series of monographic research reports in 1970.

A national language newsletter directed toward government officials and other opinion leaders and policy makers was begun in 1968; through 1970 five 12- to 16-page issues were produced.

Major Gaps in Existing Demographic and Related Knowledge

Since the number of social scientists in the country is limited, the existing demographic and related knowledge is not sufficient in many areas of development planning. Besides trying to increase this store of knowledge, the Institute is also collecting other necessary social and economic data in order that both the demographic and related knowledge can be of practical use.

Priority Areas for Future Research

In the earlier days of the Institute, the work of informing the government about the necessity for a national population policy was the Institute's main function. The Institute devoted most of its efforts to disseminating knowledge on the present and future population problems facing the country and in conducting fertility studies and KAP studies on family planning. Now the National Family Planning Program is carried out by the government. One of the prioirity areas is the evaluation of the impact of the government family planning program on the fertility rate.

Another priority research area is the study of internal migration, urbanization and urban concentration, urban environment, and related problems. The Institute is organizing a major urban research program with cooperation from other departments of the university, such as sociology, economics, political science, town planning, engineering, geography.

The study of manpower requirements and supply is also very vital for the country. There are government agencies directly and indirectly responsible to conduct research and studies in the subject.

International Cooperation

There is a great need for international cooperation among national population research institutions, especially the exchange of experiences, scientific information, and the plans and programs of each institution.

The joint comparative study project is an ideal one, but it seems unlikely to be possible in the near future, unless the proposed joint study project happens to be identical with a project which is underway or was previously planned by each institution. Because of the shortage of resources, especially highly trained personnel, institutions in developing countries are facing the problem of an inability to cope with the demand within the country for population research.

LAW INSTITUTE (U.S.A.: EDITED EXTRACTS FROM TAPED CONVERSATION WITH PROGRAM FOUNDER-DIRECTOR)

University Affiliation

The Institute's fledgling years were marked by an inadequacy and lack of continuity of funding even though some private benefactors were very liberal in their support. For about 10 years the Institute operated and carried on its business without beneift of a formal organizational structure, corporate status, public fund support, board of directors, or status of any sort within the university.

The people, other than Dr. C., who worked for the Institute, had no status as faculty in the university. In the early days they were not even employees of the university.

Then it happened that the University recruited a comptroller, retired from private industry, Mr. D. Riding around one night, he observed the "only light that was burning on the entire campus." He went in to find Dr. C. still at work in his Institute and said, "Dr. C., I don't see any appropriation for you in the budget." At some point thereafter the university embraced the Institute--at least in the sense of trying to provide to some extent for its financial needs.

Next the Legislature appropriated funds for the Institute in the university budget. The Institute staff then began to use the title of "Research Professor" and other ranks, but without appointments in the old line departments. Five more years passed before the appointment procedures were regularized completely within the framework of the university. The "Research" was dropped, and the names are now submitted to the Board of Trustees with members bearing the title "Professor of Public Administration and Population."

The Institute continues to stand as a separate entity with no particular affiliation with any other segment of the university. Of its professional staff of 33 only two hold joint appointments, one as Associate Professor in the Institute and the Department of Political Science and one as Lecturer in the Institute and in the Department of Economics.

F

An Interdisciplinary Population Program (U.S.A.: Account Based on Contemporary Documents)

The initiative for the program at X came from Professor Jones, a highly respected member of the Medical School faculty and head of a well-known Department of Reproductive Biology; he was also in the highest councils of the university and counted among the small group to whom the chancellor turned for personal advice. When one summer Professor Jones had first mentioned the idea of developing a broad-based interdisciplinary population program in the university, the chancellor had, as usual, encouraged him to go ahead and to let him know when he felt a formal announcement and appointments would help progress.

By fall Professor Jones had put together the committee of eight which he then asked the chancellor to formalize. The members came from the School of Medicine (two), the School of Public Health (three), and the Department of Sociology (three). The members from the School of Public Health were the chairmen of the Departments of Biostatistics and of MCH and a program director and Assistant Dean of the Department of Public Health Administration. The Department of Sociology was represented by its current and previous chairmen, both nationally known figures, and by the senior professor of demography. The other member from the School of Medicine was a senior professor of the Department of Reproductive Physiology. Professor Jones chaired the group.

When at the request of Professor Jones the chancellor appointed this group formally in November, he specified its task as "working up a design for a university-wide population program of teaching, research and services, and its main lines of organization, securing funds for the program, and finding a director and other initial staff."

From then on the committee met weekly during the semester, for two hours every Tuesday afternoon. Every Monday Professor Jones's office checked with all members for possible items for discussion, on the understanding that if there was not enough to discuss that week the meeting would be cancelled. This occurred only once in the next year and a half. Three other meetings were cancelled because the chairman would be absent traveling. Attendance was high throughout and when some members had to be replaced at the end of the academic year, because of retirement or moving away, the school or department immediately nominated others of comparable stature.

With the exception of the first, the meetings following the formal appointment were held in the School of Public Health or in the Department of Sociology, on the opposite side of the campus. Professor Jones took responsibility for the minutes, which were brief. They gave place, attendance and absences, and decisions reached. Usually they filled one sheet, never more than one and one half. Professor Jones sent copies to the chancellor, the Vice-Chancellors for Research and for Health

Sciences, the Provost for Arts and Sciences, and the Dean of the Graduate School. The list was enumerated on the minutes sheet.

The committee submitted its first report to the chancellor just three months after its appointment (February 1968), and with his approval proceeded at once to negotiate with three public and private agencies for possible funding. The report and requests for funds stressed the program's interdisciplinary character and the intention therefore to locate it under the Vice-Chancellor for Research rather than in any one part of the university. It assessed the establishment of field areas as essential from the very beginning. Adn it detailed the numerous resources in the university which were already available to be pulled together for the new program. The location in a central place of "a large part" of the faculty working on population issues was stressed as very important, for this would "guarantee interdepartmental interaction at a neutral site." Space requirements for this were estimated at 2000 square feet.

With the chancellor's approval of these general directions and the first contacts made with possible funding agencies, the committee turned next to the collection of specific projects for inclusion in the program. The first compilation of projects was ready at the next meeting. It included two teaching projects (from sociology and biostatistics), with a space reserved for a third from MCH, and seven research projects (from MCH, demography, biostatistics, sociology, ob-gyn, reproductive biology, and the School of Public Health, for a field laboratory). One more teaching project (health administration) and five research projects were added to the list in the next two weeks (based in departments in the School of Public Health (three), sociology, and reproductive biology). The committee decided to set up working parties to examine each project in detail. Members agreed to have ready for the next meeting the names of people on campus who could be asked to serve on these. The committee also agreed that, in view of the favorable prospects for early funding from at least one source, the biostatistics and sociology departments should immediately begin their search for "highly qualified staff to be brought in as soon as possible."

The first comprehensive discussion on the internal organization of the program took place in May, along with a discussion of the directorship. A three-tiered design emerged. The present committee would become responsible for program policy. The execution of this policy would be the task of the staff of the Population Institute headed by the director. This staff would have joint appointments in departments and schools according to their specializations but they would be located together at the Institute, and be the main stimulators and coordinators of population activities on campus and in the field laboratories. "The bulk" of teaching and research activities was to be carried out by the third tier of the program, in individual schools and departments, and jointly between them.

The director was to be a leading figure in population, someone already recognized nationally and internationally. This reduced the choice of candidates to very few, and these were known personally to most or all of the committee. One of the two whose availability the committee decided to check out was Joe Capman, M.D. Dr. Capman had been on campus during the previous summer when Professor Jones had first mentioned the idea of a major population program at the university. His joint appointment would be in the Department of Epidemiology in the School of Public Health. When, after inquiry, the other candidates turned out not to be available, the committee arranged for Dr. Capman to return in June 1969. Though the formal offer and the appointment were not made until late in the fall, the directorship was really settled during Dr. Capman's visit. The formal appointment was for June 1970.

In fact, immediately following his summer visit Dr. Capman became quite active on behalf of the program. He used his influence with one large funding agency to which the committee had applied for funds. He returned in January 1970 and took a leading part in the preparation and running of a weekend meeting of the committee. At this meeting the three-tiered design for the program's internal organization was confirmed and some of its aspects elaborated. One elaboration was that the committee would represent "the major departments and schools (in the university) concerned with population studies." The tasks were specified for it: (1) provide advisory and policy guidance to the Population Institute; (2) review overall budgets for the program; and (3) foster university-wide involvement. Raising additional funds became the responsibility of the Institute. The Institute also had the task of providing direct leadership of activities requiring close interdisciplinary teamwork, "particularly" the field studies and the study groups focused on specific substantive or methodological issues in population. Following this meeting the chancellor, at the request of the committee, appointed the Dean of the School of Journalism and the Chairman of the Department of Anthropology full members of the committee.

Until June 1970 the committee continued to manage the affairs of the new program, informing Dr. Capman of its activities and requesting and also receiving his advice on many matters. In one two-week period alone 15 letters and copies of letters arrived from Dr. Capman. During these months the committee approved budgets and Institute appointments for five departments in the School of Public Health and the Dean's office (biostatistics, MCH, epidemiology, health administration jointly with business administration, and health education), sociology (its budget cut by one-fifth), ob-gyn, journalism, anthropology, economics, and psychology. It appointed a minimum administrative and secretarial staff and established them in a rented residence adjoining the campus with space for eight to 10 offices. It continued to raise funds. It organized a weekly university-wide seminar in population for the first semester of the new academic year. And it received an increasing number of visitors from all parts of the country and abroad.

Dr. Capman started as director in June. At the meeting to greet him Professor Jones noted that the structure and responsibilities of the committee would have to be studied and redefined at this time so that it could now devolve into a policy-making body and concern itself with "substantive issues." The committee proposed that the Institute have a small executive committee to advise the director on administrative matters. And it agreed to Dr. Capman's proposal that the next meeting of the committee be called when he could submit to it a full report of the Institute's developments and of questions ahead.

This meeting took place at the end of August and was mostly taken up with the director's report. Toward the end Professor Jones introduced a paper outlining the possible reorganization of the committee. He proposed enlarging the committee to represent all departments and schools involved and a small executive board to act for the committee day to day. The large committee would meet at stated times twice or so a year but its executive board would continue to meet weekly. The discussion on this was postponed until the next meeting.

The next meeting took place on October 15. Though it started with a consideration of Professor Jones's outline the committee concluded that any reorganization be postponed "for several more months." Dr. Capman reported that several additional departments had expressed interest in the new program since he had arrived and that he found a great diversity in degree and types of departmental concern and in modes of operation. Reorganization was therefore premature. First the interests and contacts should be developed "with mutual trust and with sensitivity" do departmental needs and to the needs of the new population program.

The next meeting was scheduled in three weeks. At that meeting Dr. Capman reported the suggestion by the vice-chancellor that an outside visiting committee be appointed to report on the progress of the Institute "sometime during the next year." The Committee agreed that this would be useful and proposed late in 1971 as the best time. It did not fix a time for its own next meeting and did not meet again.

G International Networks of University Population Programs

REGIONAL NETWORKS

AFRICA

Regional Institute for Population Studies (RIPS)
P. O. Box 96
Legon, Ghana

The Institute is based on a United Nations and Ghanian government agreement signed December 1971. The purpose of the Institute is to promote and strengthen research and training in demography and related fields in interested English-speaking countries of Africa.

L'Institut de Formation et de Recherche Demographiques (IFORD)
Yaounde, Cameroons

This is an organization designed to serve the needs of French-speaking Africa in a similar capacity to that of RIPS above.

Population Dynamics Programme
P. O. Box 45
University of Ghana
Legon, Accra, Ghana

University based organization for English-speaking countries of West Africa. Its function is to promote research, hold seminars, and offer fellowships.

African Health Training Institutions Project (AHTIP)
The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill
Carolina Population Center
University Square
Chapel Hill, North Carolina 27514

A new program undertaken by the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill and the Association of American Medical Colleges to promote teaching of family health. The program offers seminars, fellowships, consultation, and two Pan African conferences. Also fosters new approaches to teaching and development of learning materials in family health.

ASIA

International Institute for Population Studies (IIPS)
Govandi Station Road, Deonar
Bombay 88 AS, India

The organization was established in 1957 by India and the United Nations. It is university-supported and offers assistance in service/field work, training research, and teaching in interdisciplinary population studies.

Population Institute
P. O. Box 479
University of the Philippines
Manila, Philippines

The Population Institute, established in 1964, is engaged in training, research, and teaching in demography. Its interest focuses mostly on the Philippines, Indonesia, Thailand, and Japan.

Organization of Demographic Associates
c/o Economic Research Center
Bukit Timah Road
Singapore, Singapore

Organization of professionals dealing in population with offices in various countries to serve the demographic needs of Asian countries.

LATIN AMERICA

Pan American Federation of Associations of Medical Schools (FEPAFEM)
Carrera 7, No. 29-34
Bogota, Colombia

Founded in 1962 to include demography in the curricula of Latin American medical schools. Includes training, research, teaching and mass communication/education in the biomedical field, with emphasis on Latin America.

Program of Social Research on Population Problems Relevant to Population Policies in Latin America (PISPEL)

Part of the Latin American Center for the Social Sciences (CLACSO). The organization is made up of about seven research centers in Latin America, most of them based in universities.

Latin American Demographic Center (CELADE)
Santiago de Chile
Chile

Associated with the University of Chile with one suboffice in San Jose, Costa Rica. The Center is involved in training, research, and teaching in the field of demography, with special focus on Latin America.

INTERREGIONAL NETWORKS

Committee for International Coordination of National Research in Demography (CICRED)
27 rue du Commandeurs
75 Paris, XIVe, France

An organization created for promotion and support of research and nonresearch activity focusing on the analysis and evaluation of political aspects of population policy and/or population policy processes.

University Population Programs (UPP)
Carolina Population Center
The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill
Chapel Hill, North Carolina 27514

Network of 25 universities around the world interested in developing effective population programs by sharing experiences and information about interdisciplinary programs oriented toward application and the development of association of universities.

Bibliography

Addo, Nelson O. and David, Abraham S. (1973) "Towards an Interdisciplinary Approach to Population Studies: Issues, Concepts and Implementation." Draft. Legon: Population Dynamics Programme, University of Ghana.

Crecine, J. C. (1971) "University Centers for the Study of Public Policy: Organizational Viability." *Policy Sciences* 2:7-32.

Demeny, Paul George. (1972) "Aims of the Conference: An Overview." Opening address, First Meeting of Rectors of Asian Universities on Population Program Development, 4 April 1972, Jogjakarta, Indonesia.

Deutsch, Karl W. et al. (1963) *The Nerves of Government: Models of Political Communication and Control.* New York: Free Press.

Eaton, Joseph W., ed. (1972) *Institution Building and Development: From Concepts to Application.* Beverly Hills, Calif.: Sage Publications.

Hanson, John Wagner. (1968) *Education, Nsukka: Study in Institution Building Among the Modern Ibo.* East Lansing: African Studies Center and Institute for International Studies in Education, Michigan State University.

Institute for Research on Poverty, University of Wisconsin. (1970) "Statement on the Operational Management of the Institute for Research on Poverty." Prepared for the Advisory Committee for the Assessment of University Based Institutes for Research on Poverty. Madison: IRP, University of Wisconsin.

Lawrence, Paul R. and Lorsch, Jay W. (1967) *Organization and Environment: Managing Differentiation and Integration.* With the assistance of James S. Garrison. Boston: Division of Research, Graduate School of Business Administration, Harvard University.

Linder, Forrest E. (1971) "The Concept and Program of the Laboratories for Population Statistics." Scientific Series, no. 1. Chapel Hill: International Program of Laboratories for Population Statistics, The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

Lynton, Rolf P. (1973) "Building a Broad Population Program Out of a Disciplinary Program." Position Paper no. 6. Mimeographed. Chapel Hill: University Population Program Study, Carolina Population Center, The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

________ and Pareek, Udai. (1967) *Training for Development*. The Irwin-Dorsey Series in Behavioral Science. Homewood, Ill.: R. D. Irwin.

Miller, Eric John. (1959) "Part 3: Internal Differentiation and Problems of Management." *Human Relations* 12:261-70.

________ and Rice, A. K. (1967) *Systems of Organization: The Control of Task and Sentient Boundaries*. London: Tavistock; New York: Barnes and Noble.

Nortman, Dorothy. (1972) "Population and Family Planning Programs: A Factbook." *Reports on Population/Family Planning*, no. 2 (4th ed.):20-40.

Poats, Rutherford M. (1972) *Technology for Developing Nations: New Directions for U.S. Technical Assistance*. New ed. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution.

Population Dynamics Programme. (1973) "West African Regional Seminar on Population Studies." Mimeographed. Legon: PDP, University of Ghana.

Rigney, J. A., et al. (1971) *A Guide to Institution Building for Team Leaders of Technical Assistance Projects*. Raleigh: Office of International Programs, North Carolina State University.

Stamper, B. Maxwell. (1973) "Population Policy in Development Planning: A Study of Seventy Less Developed Countries." *Reports on Population/Family Planning*, no. 13.

Taylor, Carl E. (1968-69) "Five Stages in a Practical Population Policy." *Population Review* 13 (1-2):37-44. New Delhi.

University Planning Committee, Duke University. (1972) *Summary Report of the University Planning Committee, Duke University*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University.

University Population Programs, International Study Group. (1973) "Record of Meeting for Action." Second Meeting, 9-11 March 1973, Pahlavi University, Shiraz, Iran. Mimeographed. Chapel Hill: UPP, Carolina Population Center, The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

END